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ABSTRACT

This study considers the present condition of African-Americans and makes projections for the year 2000, emphasizing the relative conditions of European-Americans and African-Americans, and considering the public and private policy implications of these projections. Section 1, an overview of the subject, covers the following topics: (1) "The Current Crisis of the United States"; (2) "The Current Condition of African-Americans"; (3) "The Core Future"; (4) "The Budget and Closing the Gap"; (5) "Policies to Avert Disaster"; and (6) "Methodology and Contents." Section 2, "The Black Class Structure," covers the following topics: (1) "Basic Characteristics of the Black Underclass and the Black Middle Class"; and (2) "Policy Implications." Section 3, "The Special Question of Black Children," covers the following topics: (1) "The Present Condition and Outlook of Black Children"; and (2) "Policy Options Under Various Scenarios." Section 4, "African-Americans in Science, Engineering, and Technology," covers the following topics: (1) "The Present"; and (2) "The Future: Policy Concerns." Section 5, "Racism," covers the following topics: (1) "Racist Sentiment"; (2) "Racist Practice"; and (3) "Conclusion." Five scenarios based on patterns of economic and social development for the future are considered. Section 6 examines the future of African Americans if there were a continuation of current conditions. Section 7 examines their future if there were economic and social recovery and expansion. Section 8 examines their future if there were major positive social and economic transformation. Section 9 examines their future if there were economic and social decline. Section 10 examines their future if there were economic and social collapse. For each particular scenario for the future of African-Americans, covered in sections 6 to 10, the following topics are covered: (1) "Employment and Economic Development"; (2) "Health"; (3) "Education"; (4) "Community and Family Life"; (5) "Values"; and (6) "Political Participation." Section 11, "Policies to Avert Disaster," covers the following topics: (1) "Employment and Economic Development"; (2) "Health"; (3) "Education"; (4) "Community and Family Life"; (5) "Values"; and (6) "Political Participation." Methodology, forecasts, and cross-impact analysis data are appended. Included in the appendixes are 21 tables and 31 figures. A bibliography with 104 references is included. (JS)

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THE FUTURE OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS TO THE YEAR 2000

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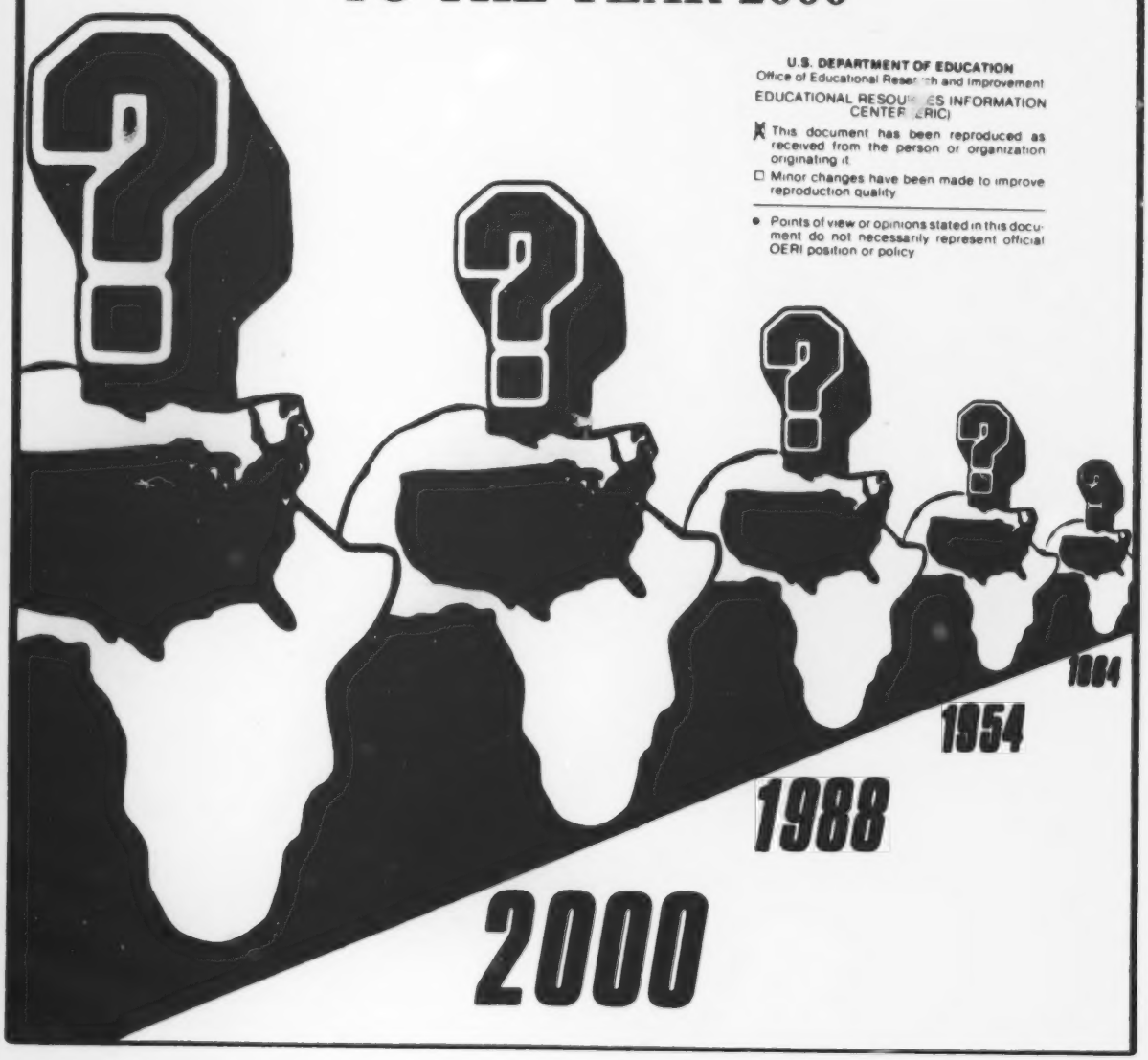

Congressional Task Force Report

UD 027 237

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CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

Historians Lerone Bennett, Jr. and Ivan Van Sertima have both indicated in their seminal works (*Before the Mayflower* and *They Came Before Columbus*, respectively) that African-Americans have lived in this part of the world since before the landing of the Mayflower.

Without making an issue of the arrival order of various American ancestors, it is clear that no one has been here longer than the children of Africa except for Native Americans, the first migrants from Asia. And no one has labored harder or longer than African-Americans to cull and fashion the natural and human resources of this land for the creation of a more abundant way of life.

Yet African-Americans have not reaped the benefits of their labors to the fullest measure. Indeed, they remain second class citizens of the American economy, even as they begin to approach full citizenship in the American political system.

This report of the Task Force on the Future of African-Americans is a most important document. It provides a range of visions of the future of African-Americans. Though other reports have considered this subject, none is quite as comprehensive. For this reason, it will be serve as a backdrop for the development of future public policy and private practices affecting the lives of African-Americans and others.

Its most trenchant finding is that if we continue as we have in the past, the American economic, social, and political systems will not adequately meet the needs of African-Americans, and they will not ever share fully in the abundance of this land. To overcome this dreadful potential future, dramatic new policies will have to be undertaken, and practices in many spheres of life will have to be substantially altered.

It is my hope that this work will enable us, as a nation, to more directly confront this issue and to remove the remaining barriers to African-American advancement. For in that advancement, lies the advancement of us all.

Hon. Mervyn M. Dymally
Member of Congress and
Chairman, Congressional Task Force
on the Future of African-Americans

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PART I: THE BASICS

1.0 OVERVIEW

In recent months, when we have told people about this study of the future of African-Americans, the response from many African-Americans has been a question: Do we have one?

The answer is yes, but *the future depends on what can be done now to avert the disaster that lies in store for African-Americans, and by implication many others in America, in the years to come.*

This report is on that future. It considers the present condition of African-Americans and makes projections for the year 2000, emphasizing the relative conditions of European-Americans and African-Americans. And the public and private policy implications of these projections are considered. We choose to refer to blacks as African-Americans and to whites (including Jews) as European-Americans.[1]

This report is the full study for those with a deep interest in the substance and methodology of this work. A shorter version that emphasizes the core findings is available in the companion study, *The Future of African-Americans to the Year 2000: Summary Report.*

1.1 THE CURRENT CRISIS OF THE UNITED STATES

African-Americans have been oppressed. They have not been permitted to live and work at the same levels as European-Americans. To be sure, there is a serious question about their future, as is demonstrated in the following text. But there is also a serious question about the future of the United States and of *all* its citizens. It is by no means clear that the U.S. position as a major industrial power with a high living standard will be sustainable in coming generations. Historian Paul Kennedy has argued this persuasively in his recent book, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers.* He suggests that when nations have risen to the zenith of world power, they have most often developed major military establishments. These military establishments require such a large proportion of the available national resources that the process of social and economic development in these countries is constrained, and it ultimately fails.[2]

A large part of the contemporary American crisis can be easily seen, as it involves everyday institutions and facilities, such as education facilities, transportation and water resources, wastewater and solid waste disposal systems, industrial productivity and an aging industrial capital stock, and the national moral fiber. But some of the crisis is hidden in problems and outlooks of American children, many of whom live in limiting conditions that bode ill for their future...and ours.

1.1.1 What Is Easily Seen

Turning first to the most obvious aspects of the crisis, it is only logical to expect that any successful industrial society must adopt policies that identify facilities and services essential to its future viability and success. The war-ravaged countries of Western Europe and Japan were forced to use this policy approach to rebuild after the Second World War. It is often said that they were able to emerge from the postwar period with a new industrial fixed capital stock that was at the leading edge of technology, simply because most of it was new — while the United States, the nominal victor in the conflict, carried the burden of an outdated and highly mortgaged capital stock into an era of intense global economic competition. And there is some truth in this.

There is a more important point. The vanquished countries more or less methodically determined what was essential to their future success in more or less well-articulated public *and* private policy. They *identified what was important* and began to build it systematically. But the United States has not done this. And now the United States finds itself in the throes of an apparent multidimensional crisis. Look at some of the basic building blocks of contemporary American society that are in trouble:

First there are deficiencies with systems that are normally managed or closely overseen by government...

- Education, early identified as critical to the Japanese and German postwar economic reconstruction, is in worse condition in the United States than many yet realize. Though many have written about the critical condition of various parts of the education system, few major changes have yet been undertaken.[3]
- Transportation facilities are becoming more dangerous and less reliable. One has only to

1 Recognizing that there are both white and black Hispanic-Americans, and that the burden of racial discrimination weighs unevenly on them, the treatment of this ambiguity follows the Census usage, which is to include Hispanics among black and white Americans as appropriate, as well as among Hispanic-Americans, resulting in an overlap between the African-American and Hispanic-American categories, as well as an overlap between the European-American and Hispanic-American categories.

2 Kennedy, Paul. The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers--Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000. New York, Random House, 1988.

3 Within the past several years, reports on this subject have been issued by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force, the National Task Force on Education for Economic Growth, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, A Study of High Schools, A Study of Schooling, the National Science Board Commission on Precollege Education in Mathematics, Science, and Technology, the Paideia Group, the Educational Equality Project, the National Coalition of Advocates for Students, the Committee for Economic Development, the National Governors' Association, and the Secretary of Education. (See U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. Education in America: Reports on its Condition, Recommendations for Change [by] James B. Stedman. [Washington] 1986.)

think of the current controversies over limitations of air traffic control, collapses of highway bridges, traffic jams, air pollution generated largely by automobile exhausts, and inadequate service levels and high costs of most urban mass transportation.

- Water resources are in a frightening state. Major parts of the urban West are in areas that are naturally arid, and are sustained by water piped in massive quantities from elsewhere, making them enormously vulnerable to system failures. Urban water supplies in the industrial North and Midwest (and some of the older urban regions in the South) are increasingly threatened by ruptures in major water lines and by pollution.
- Wastewater treatment in the United States is also a problem. The multibillion dollar Construction Grants Program in the Environmental Protection Agency — often based on local plans driven largely by the needs of local politicians, construction companies, architectural and engineering firms, suppliers of building materials and heavy equipment, investment bankers, and the like — has produced a great many facilities that simply do not work and many others that do not function to their specifications.
- Solid waste disposal in traditional landfills must now be curtailed in many regions because of their adverse impact on groundwater quality. New resource recovery and recycling technologies are being deployed in their stead, many times without a full realization of long-term costs and impacts, while the basic solution to trash is not to produce it in the first place.

And in the private sector...

- Some analysts have identified a productivity crisis in industry.
- A significant element of U.S. plant and equipment is outdated.
- And U.S. industry does not seem to be able to compete adequately in world markets any more.

And finally...

- The moral fiber of the national community seems to have frayed, with the emergence of increasingly radical forms of individualism. Business, government, and even religious organizations do not seem able to maintain their organizational and ethical coherence any longer.
- And drug abuse is prevalent.

The debt crisis must also be added to this awesome list. Federal, corporate, and consumer debt are extremely high, with the result that the next economic downturn is likely to be accelerated by bankruptcies resulting from this.

These matters affect everyone, not just African-Americans, though African-Americans are more damaged by these conditions than European-Americans.

1.1.2 The Hidden Crisis

There is an even more threatening aspect of the contemporary American crisis in the current status and outlook for American children. It is bad enough that adults have to suffer difficulties resulting from the erosion of major facilities and social institutions, but they have always found some solace in the hope that things would be better for their children, as was generally the case from generation to generation earlier in this century. The Children's Defense Fund says that of *all American children...*[4]

- One in four lives in poverty.
- One in five is at risk of becoming a teen parent.
- One in six has no health insurance.
- One in seven is at risk of dropping out of school.
- One in two has a mother in the labor force, but only a minority have safe, affordable, quality child care.

These are *not* black and Hispanic and native American children, but everyone's children. For minority children, conditions are even worse. European-Americans can no longer be assured that the future of their children will be better than that of minority children.

In a very real sense *this report on the future of African-Americans is about the future of all Americans, for whatever happens to African-Americans will in some way happen to all Americans, and whatever benefits African-Americans will ultimately benefit other Americans as well.*

1.2 THE CURRENT CONDITION OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS

As a prelude to summarizing the projected future of African-Americans, it is important to understand what has gone before.

1.2.1 Employment and Economic Development

Some key employment measures are as follows:

- Between 1970 and 1980, black median household income *declined* from $16,796 to $15,976 or nearly 5 percent, while white median household income *increased* slightly, from $27,381 to $27,611 or about 1 percent (all in constant dollars, controlling for inflation). While the proportion of black households with incomes greater than $25,000 went up slightly between 1970 and 1980 (from 29 percent to 30 percent), those below $15,000 increased more (from 45 percent to 47 percent). In 1980, nearly one-half

4 Children's Defense Fund. A Call for Action to Make our Nation Safe for Children: A Briefing Book on the Status of American Children in 1988. Washington, D.C. Children's Defense Fund, 1988. p. iii.

of all black households had incomes less than $15,000 and more than one in five had incomes less than $7,500, while only one in five white households were at $15,000 or less and one in thirteen less than $7,500. As in 1960, in 1980, African-Americans were three times as likely to be impoverished as European-Americans.

- However, from 1960 to 1980, black proportional participation in professional and managerial occupations nearly tripled, rising from about 6 percent to nearly 17 percent. But white participation in these occupations remained higher, increasing from 21 percent to 27 percent.

There are two profound messages in this pattern:

- In spite of rapid changes in the occupational structure, reflecting significant black advances, African-Americans are still behind, and are likely to remain so unless they continue to advance faster than European-Americans.
- Even with these occupational advances, black incomes have, on the average, declined in relation to white incomes.

And what is even more telling...

- Black household net assets (roughly, what the household has minus what it owes) are less than 10 percent of median white household net assets.

While black members of the workforce may be participating more in the higher occupational categories, overall they are earning significantly less than European-Americans, and their wealth is still only a small fraction of what European-Americans have.

Although there are many *black businesses*, overall black participation in business ownership is very limited...

- African-Americans own about 2 percent of all the firms in the United States, but these enterprises garner less than 0.2 percent of the gross receipts of American business as a whole.

1.2.2 Health

In health...

- While black median life expectancy rose from 62 years to 67 years from 1960 to 1980, white median life expectancy increased from 71 to 74 years.
- And during this same period, while the overall incidence of cardiovascular disease has fallen, African-Americans are still about 30 percent more likely to have heart problems and nearly twice as likely to have strokes and related disorders as European-Americans.

While the incidence of cancer has been rising for both races, it has been rising faster for African-Americans, who are now about 30 percent more likely to have cancer than European-Americans.

1.2.3 Education

And in education...

- Between 1960 and 1980 the median years of schooling of African-Americans rose from 8.2 to 12.0, while the white figure rose from 10.9 to 12.5.

There is an apparent improvement here for African-Americans, but the gap continues because European-Americans are advancing, too. Some social scientists, for example Reynolds Farley and Walter Allen, have raised a question about the relative quality of schools serving predominantly black or white student populations, suggesting that European-Americans typically have better schools available to them.[5] If this is true, the gap between the races has probably not narrowed significantly and may even have widened.

1.2.4 Community and Family Life

In black community and family life...

- As is now common knowledge, the typical black family has been changing. In 1960 nearly three-quarters of the black families were married couple families. By 1980 this had dropped to about one-half. At the same time, the proportion of white married couple families has slipped only slightly, from about 89 percent to about 86 percent.
- There is also trouble at the community level, as indicated by the high level of violence. Black males are killing each other more often than white males are killing each other. The black male homicide rate per 100,000 male population was 36.7 in 1960, but had risen to 66.6 by 1980. The white incidence of male homicide also rose during this period, from 3.6 to 10.9 per 100,000.

Another essential aspect of black community and family life is simply where the community is physically located. With the increasing relocation of jobs from central cities to suburbs and small towns, the predominantly low-income black residents of central cities have been at a disadvantage.[6] And there has been little effort to modify public transportation networks, urban educational systems, and other qualities of urban life to make this element of the black population more competitive with respect to these employment opportunities.

1.2.5 Values

The only place where African-Americans have been consistently ahead of European-Americans has been in an area

5 Farley, Reynolds and Allen, Walter R. The Color Line and the Quality of Life in America. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1987. p. 204.

6 Schlesinger, Jacob M. Fleeing Factories--Shift of Auto Plants to Rural Areas Cuts Hiring of Minorities. Wall street journal. April 12, 1988. p. 1, 28.

central to understanding the operative *values* in contemporary America, namely avowed church membership...

- In 1960 reported black church membership was 79 percent, while white membership was at 72 percent. By 1980, black membership had fallen slightly to 75 percent against 68 percent for European-Americans.

And on another important values dimension...

- Rampant radical individualism has eroded the once basic American devotion to community concerns.

But more important...

- Though blatant and socially approved racist sentiment has declined in the United States in the past two generations or so with the passage of civil rights legislation, a more subtle underlying racist sentiment has continued, as have many vicious prejudicial practices.

1.2.6 Political Participation

And finally, on political participation...

- According to the Joint Center for Political Studies, although African-Americans constitute about 12 percent of the population, they hold less than 1.5 percent of all elected offices.[7]
- The number of African-Americans holding public office in 1987 was higher than ever before, but the rate at which they have gained elected offices has been declining since 1970.[8]
- Despite the significant gain in the number of elected offices held by black women...rising from 530 in 1975 to 1,564 in 1987...black women make up less than 25 percent of all black elected officials.[9]
- In 1980 the gaps in voter registration and turnout between African-Americans and European-Americans began to close for the first time, especially in 1984 when black registration was only 3.3 percentage points below white registration and black turnout was only 5.6 percentage points below white turnout[10].
- These gaps narrowed as a result of major increases in black voter participation...principally among black women...and smaller gains in white voter participation.[11]

In addition to these characteristics of contemporary black political participation, it is clear that the presidential candidacy of the Rev. Jesse Jackson represents a watershed. What was begun with the Voting Rights Act in 1965 was advanced by the election of substantial numbers of African-Americans to political office in the nearly 25 years since that time. One of the notable things absent from black politics, however, was the lack of black control over black votes in the nominating process in the Democratic Party. The Jackson candidacy certainly has changed that, but in addition it has...

- resuscitated a politics based on those at the base of the social class structure...African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and workers of whatever color...according to Howard Gleckman, writing in *Business Week*,[12]
- generated a successful new low-budget campaign style, as reported by Lynn Frank in the *New York Times*,[13]
- demonstrated that leading the polls, rather than following them, can work, as evidenced in the Michigan Democratic primary election earlier this year,[14]
- and in doing these things, has revealed the recently shrouded democratic potential of the country, as inferred by William Greider in a key article on the Jackson candidacy.[15]

Whatever the outcome of this 1988 presidential election season, the Democratic Party will have been changed by this, and so will the Republican Party and much of the rest of American politics as well.

Jackson has adopted a broadly *inclusive* strategy, seeking the widest possible support for his policies. The strategic

7 Joint Center for Political Studies. Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1987, 16th edition. Washington, 1987. p. 1.

8 Black Elected Officials, p. 1,9.

9 Ibid., p. 2, 16-19.

10 Williams, Eddie. A Growing Black Vote: Dr. King's Legacy. Focus: The monthly newsletter of the Joint Center for Political Studies, January 1988. p. 2.

11 Ibid.

12 Gleckman, Howard. The New Populism Will Outlast the Campaign. Business week. no. 3043. March 21, 1988. p. 48-49.

13 Lynn, Frank. Campaign in New York beginning as party weighs Jackson's role. New York times. March 28, 1988. p. A1, B6.

14 This is one of the important underlying messages in one of the news stories about the Jackson victory in the Michigan Democratic Party caucuses on March 28, 1988. See Dionne, E. J., Jr. Jackson Rivals Confront Problem of How to Campaign Against Him. New York times. March 29, 1988. p. A1, D27.

15 Greider, William. The Profound Impact of Jesse Jackson. Rolling stone, March 24, 1988. Here Greider say that "Jesse Jackson is engaged in a profound struggle to restore the soul of the Democratic party, to break open a new era for American politics." (p. 51) And later, he goes on to say that "In a less obvious way, Jackson is also having a profound influence on the GOP...." (p. 52)

relevance of this approach is demonstrated in the projected demographic future of the United States. Bureau of the Census forecasts indicate that African-Americans will become a decreasing proportion of the population that is not European-American. Specifically, it is anticipated that while African-Americans made up about 90 percent of the people of color in the United States in 1970, in 1982 they were only about 82 percent, and it is estimated that by 2000 they will decline to about 79 percent.[16] Most of the difference will be made up by increasing numbers of Hispanic-Americans.[17] Under these circumstances, an inclusive strategy is not only morally correct but the only politically feasible alternative.

In broader political concerns, in addition to the dynamics of normal domestic and international policies, the possibilities of widespread international war, thermonuclear war, or revolution also worry a great many of citizens. These possibilities have a great deal to do with what will happen to everyone, most particularly African-Americans. For example...

- Widespread international war has typically improved employment opportunities for African-Americans as well as others.
- Thermonuclear war would be the end of life for everyone.
- Revolution, whether of the right or the left, would probably end in a degenerative unresponsive authoritarian politics.

For these reasons, these potential political cataclysms are taken into consideration in framing all of the scenarios in this work.

1.2.7 Conclusion

Here is what has happened since about 1960...

Though the income gap between African-Americans and European-Americans has widened, things have improved for African-Americans in some spheres of life.

However, they have also improved for European-Americans.

The result is that the gap between these two racial groups has narrowed in some ways, but it has not closed. And in many areas, it is the same as it was in 1960 or worse.

The *illusion* is that African-Americans have advanced in relation to European-Americans, but the *reality* is that African-Americans have advanced principally in relation to their own parents and grandparents.

1.3 THE CORE FUTURE

This study portrays not just one possible future for African-Americans but five. These scenarios are discussed in detail in part II of this report. Each scenario depends on the pattern of general economic and social development in the United States. At the most general level, if things continue as they are without major public or private policy changes, there will be an increasing calamity for African-Americans.

If African-Americans are to be brought into real equality with European-Americans, something vastly more powerful and sustained than anything in the American past will have to be done. And such a new approach would be likely to be met with great resistance in the absence of strong sustained economic growth, because African-Americans have only made significant advances in such periods. In *The Zero-Sum Society*, economist Lester Thurow sees the advancement of all low-income persons, regardless of race, as a very difficult problem, arguing that except under the most unusual circumstances, all gains for them require sacrifices by those with high incomes.[18] Other more conservative writers, such as George Gilder, believe that economic growth under conditions of unfettered capitalism can indeed eliminate poverty and all associated ills for everyone on the bottom, regardless of race. Thurow and Gilder agree that growth is fundamental to minority advancement and the decline in poverty.[19]

More specifically, here are some of the key aspects of the core future...

- *In the economy*...without dramatic public and private policy innovations, unless there is high and balanced economic growth, African-Americans, for the most part, will continue to be marginal participants in the labor force.
- Most will continue to work in low-paid service occupations with very limited fringe benefits.
- A great many will continue to be poor, and the black middle class will continue to be very unstable and as marginal to the white middle class as the black working class is to the white working class.
- The one thing that may dampen these tendencies is the possible future labor shortage, foreseen by the Hudson Institute in *Workforce 2000*, that would significantly enhance employment and training opportunities for African-Americans and others whose opportunities for participation in the labor market have been traditionally limited.[20]

16 U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Projections of the Population of the United States, by Age, Sex, and Race: 1983 to 2080. [by Gregory Spencer] Current Population Reports. Population Estimates and Projections. Series P-25, No. 952. May 1984. p. 9.

17 U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Projections of the Hispanic Population: 1983 to 2080. [by Gregory Spencer] Current Population Reports. Population Estimates and Projections. Series P-25, No. 995. November 1986. p. 2.

18 Thurow, Lester. The Zero-Sum Society--Distribution and the Possibilities for Economic Change. New York, Basic Books, 1980. p. 9-15.

19 Gilder, George. Wealth and Poverty. New York, Basic Books, 1981. p. 67.

20 Johnston, William B. and Arnold H. Packer, Workforce 2000--Work and Workers for the Twenty-first Century. Indianapolis, IN, Hudson Institute, 1987. p. 89.

- Black business, now only a very small fraction of all American business, will also expand radically only under the most favorable economic and social conditions.

- *In health*...though the average life span of African-Americans has increased relative to that of European-Americans, the number of medical indigents has increased, and in some localities the availability of adequate health services for the poor has diminished. Without substantial change in public and private policies, this is likely to continue. In the event of an economic downturn, which is very likely, the health of the black community will degenerate.

- *In education*...the challenges are (1) to reeducate the existing labor force and (2) to prepare American youths much better than the last generation was prepared to be competitive and productive at work. These things can certainly be done, but without massive changes in the way that we conduct education now, the *American labor force in general will continue to be inadequate for industrial and other labor force needs.*

- And without special policies to eliminate racial discrimination in the provision of educational opportunities, African-Americans will continue to lag behind European-Americans in employment.

- To close the racial gap, it will be necessary to assure that persons of limited income have a *more than equal* opportunity to secure the education and training that will make it possible for them to work and to escape from poverty.

- *In community and family life*...ironically the passage of civil rights legislation that opened new opportunities for many, especially in the black middle class, resulted in a decline in black leadership in the ghetto. The black community that was unified under the conditions of segregation, has fragmented: its leadership has diminished, its resources eroded, its vitality has been sapped. Without major change, this will continue to be a problem. In the ghetto, conditions have worsened. Twenty years after the Kerner Commission report on civil disorders, the 1988 Commission on the Cities has concluded (among other things) that problems that stem from inadequate income — substandard living conditions, drugs, adolescent pregnancies, street violence, family instability, and rampant despair — are now far worse than they were during the era of the civil rights movement,[21] the last time when the entire black community was mobilized and unified in the quest for freedom. Without major changes in public and private policies, these conditions will continue.

- *Turning to values* (the basic ways that people view things — shared outlooks that are seldom questioned)...the outlook of a great many people seems to be "me first, you last, let's compete, and the devil takes the loser." It is anticipated that the balance between individualism and communalism in our thinking will shift under certain conditions...in the direction of individualism if conditions worsen, in the direction of communalism if conditions get better. With more emphasis on communalism, it will become easier to improve the condition of African-Americans; with more emphasis on individualism, it will become more difficult to do so.

- Though overtly racist sentiment has declined dramatically in the past two generations, racist practices have continued. If economic and social conditions improve, the negative impact of racism will decline; if they worsen, racism will rise.

- *In political participation*...while white political participation seems to decline in bad times, black participation rises, at least when the candidates offered are compatible with basic black outlooks and aspirations. Black political participation has tended to rise since the 1960s, and it is likely to continue to do so between now and the year 2000, though somewhat more slowly than in the early years after the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965.

1.4 THE BUDGET AND CLOSING THE GAP

Closing the gap between African-Americans and European-Americans will require an investment, primarily in low-income people...not just African-Americans of limited means, but *everyone*. Returning to Lester Thurow's assertion that elevating the incomes of the poor requires sacrifices by the rich, funding this new investment is a sensitive and controversial political problem that is centered on public finance.

- Limitations on the spending activities of all levels of government are quickly affected by economic recessions and recoveries. Because of the enormity of the present federal debt burden, the funding capabilities of this highest level of American government are now highly sensitive to economic downturns and expansions. With the advent of the inevitable cyclical economic downturn, the federal government will not be able to fund the required investments in the American people, without a significant tax in-

21 1988 Commission on the Cities. The Kerner Report Updated, Report of the 1988 Commission on the Cities, Race and Poverty in the United States Today. Report of a National Conference, The Kerner Report Twenty Years Later. [Fred R. Harris and Roger Wilkens, co-chairs] March 1, 1988. p. 2-3.

crease on corporations and high income individuals. (Reliance could be placed on private companies to fund the programs themselves, and to some extent they are already doing this,[22] which is laudable. But the profit motive has been institutionalized in business ethics, and corporations can not be depended on to take the major burden for making the required investments in the American people.)

- The corporations and the rich are not likely to accept this, and they participate more heavily and effectively in the political system than the anticipated beneficiaries of these investments.

There is a *fundamental problem for American democracy* in this.

- The system must make major new investments in its people, especially those at the bottom, if it is to survive.
- Those investments require funding, most of which must come from government, requiring tax increases.
- Corporations and affluent taxpayers, who will largely have to bear this burden, are unlikely to be willing to do so. And they have the political muscle to effectively resist such major tax increases.
- So the system will fail...unless it changes.
- Specifically, what must change is the present political ineffectiveness of the vast numbers of citizens in the lower 40 to 50 percent of the income distribution. If they can mobilize themselves in their own interest to legislate serious tax increases for those in the upper 50 to 60 percent and cut unnecessary federal spending for non-productive programs (such as superfluous military hardware), they can produce the dollars required to fund the needed investment in themselves.
- This is a very substantial change, and under ordinary circumstances it would take at least a generation. And we do not have that long. However, the presidential campaigns of Jesse Jackson have raised these issues in a very direct way, and if they are articulated by Jackson and other candidates in a way that the beneficiaries of the needed new programs can understand them, it may be possible to make some headway in the next presidential administration.

These conditions set the framework for the development policy options to avoid the rising calamity for this country, which will affect not just African-Americans, but everyone.

1.5 POLICIES TO AVERT DISASTER

The future of African-Americans does not look good. Indeed, without substantial public and private policy intervention, the future for all working people in the United States is not good. African-Americans are predominantly working people, and with the additional complicating factor of racial oppression, their collective future is most likely to be filled with calamity and ruin.

New public and private policies comprised of creative new investments in the people of this country and in the stabilization of their supporting institutions can avert this disaster. The sooner these investments are made, the greater their impact. The longer the delay, the less effective they are likely to be in the face of the growing crisis.

The policies derived from this analysis of the future of African-Americans are detailed in section 11.0. Briefly, they are as follows:

- *In the economy*...it will be important to implement public and private policies to assure *strong and balanced high growth* , whatever the nature of future economic and social conditions. It is important to emphasize the need for balance, because if high growth means simply more profits and higher management compensation without higher real wages and living standards for those who work, growth will have no impact on those most in need. Strong and balanced growth will foster conditions under which African-Americans can at least get ahead even if the remaining gap between them and European-Americans is not completely closed.
- *In health and education*, the essential supports for the access of the aspiring black workforce to these vital services must be greatly enhanced. Unless black workers are healthy, well-educated, and well-trained in job-oriented skills, they can not adequately sustain the effort required to get a good job and keep it.
- *In community and family life*...reweaving the ruptured fabric of the black community is a serious challenge. At the most elemental level, there are only two options for regeneration of the black community: (1) Some of the escaped leadership can return to the neighborhoods of their parents to strengthen the existing leadership cadre in these communities; or (2) the current residents of black ghettos can be offered opportunities for their children to leave to attend boarding schools in entirely different environments, so that the next generation can escape the negative values resident in many of these communities. Any other options are basically rooted in these two.

22 For example, a great many major corporations run significant educational programs, as noted in: (1) Adams, Jane M. and Christie, Claudia M. The Changing Relations Between Business and Education. The New England Business, v. 5, May 16, 1983. (2) Luxenberg, Stan. Education at AT&T. Change, v. 10, December 1978-January 1979. p. 124. (3) Burck, Charles G. Schools Where Students Pay to Learn Paying Jobs. Fortune. December 1976. p. 124. (4) Doll, Russell C. Speculations on the Meaning of the Trend toward Corporate Education. Phi Delta Kappan. v. 61, January 1980. p. 333.

- *With respect* to basic values in the black community, it is imperative that a far stronger commitment to the community be created among youth, as well as among the current adult generation. While those elements of society having great resources in wealth and social power can afford to be highly individualistic, the survival of African-Americans depends on social cohesion.
- To make the best use of their limited financial resources, African-Americans must be willing to support organizations (and political candidates) working in the interest of black advancement.
- To increase their access to human resources, African-Americans must pressure their political representatives to enact laws that will provide them with assistance far beyond what they can supply from their own meager personal and organizational resources.
- While legislation and its enforcement can not directly eradicate racist sentiments in the hearts of people, it can certainly combat the impacts of racist practices by curtailing employment discrimination, housing discrimination, and the like.
- The electoral campaigns of black politicians running for office in predominantly white constituencies have had a salutary impact on the erosion of racism, as has certain of the more racially progressive television shows. But these changes are largely symbolic, when what is needed is a better living that can be sustained, not better feelings that fade when the campaign is over, the television is turned off, and the bills must be paid. Yet these symbolic changes often precede more substantive changes that will deliver what is needed and should continue to be supported.
- *In political participation*, one of the most important resources that African-Americans have in seeking a better life in America (the very reason that participation in political life was denied to African-Americans for so long), much more remains to be done. African-Americans were somewhat empowered with the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, but must now make more effective use of the political offices they hold.

1.6 METHODOLOGY AND CONTENTS

The methods used in this study are accepted methods of futures research. They are detailed in Appendix A at the end of this report.

The remainder of this report contains...

- four additional chapters on the core future of African-Americans
- five chapters covering the five scenarios
- a chapter on some policies required to avert disaster
- some appendices.

2.0 THE BLACK CLASS STRUCTURE

It has become increasingly common to refer to African-Americans as being only of two classes: the underclass or the middle class. It is our view that this is a potentially sinister dichotomy in the context of current public and private policy thinking. Infuenced by popular writing on the subject, many citizens now believe that the antipoverty programs of the 1960s and beyond were unsuccessful in uplifting African-Americans of the underclass. Many also believe that middle class African-Americans are doing so well that special public and private policies to uplift them are no longer justified. But the adandonment of the black element of the underclass would simply leave many by the side of the road to die, and the removal of the programs that have helped to expand and to stabilize the black middle class would weaken its foundations at the critical stage of its development. It is for this reason that special attention must be given to black social class structures.

As a common approach to analyzing social class structures, social scientists variously group people according to two principal categories: income or occupation. Focusing on incomes, social scientists typically designate the "middle class" as the group with earnings within the middle range of the income distribution, the "upper class" above the middle range, the "working class" directly below the middle range, and the "poor" at the bottom. Focusing on occupations, social scientists most often designate owners of large businesses as the upper class, nonmanual workers as the middle class, and manually skilled or manually semiskilled workers as the working class.

The use of income and/or occupation in determining the class structure of the black community is necessarily imprecise. University professor Bart Landry argues that income does not reflect the true economic status of African-Americans.[1] Specifically, income conceals other important measures of economic stability such as future earnings potential, job security, and occupational mobility. Robert Hill, a nationally known research consultant, argues that the traditional occupational structure is inappropriate for African-Americans.[2] Hill asserts that African-Americans with white collar occupations do not necessarily have middle-class earnings. Some African-Americans with blue-collar occupations earn more than African-Americans with sales or clerical occupations.Aside from the dispute over precise divisions in the black class structure, there is wide agreement that recent U.S. trends in economic and social development have an intrinsic relationship to the economic status of two classes in particular -- the so-called black underclass and the black middle class.

Although not the focus of this chapter, the economic status of the black working class is also linked to characteristics of the American political economy. Manning Marable, a widely read theorist of black political economy, describes the status of the black working class as a crisis that can be identified by the following phenomena:

- the acceleration of black unemployment and underemployment,
- the emergence of black neoconservatism and the decline of black participation in the labor movement, and
- the growing dependency of African-Americans on public assistance programs.[3]

On the other hand, the black upper class, whether or not it is considered as an economic or political force, has not been able to insure that African-Americans have an equitable share of wealth in American society. Indeed, Marable asserts that the number of black corporate executives who truly dominate the black consumer market number less than 200 individuals.[4] Further, Marable maintains that the combined assets of *Black Enterprise* magazine's top 100 firms can be purchased by one major white corporation, such as the Mobil Oil Corporation, with its liquid assets.[5]

2.1 BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BLACK UNDERCLASS AND THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

Emerging as a fixed part of the American economy, the black underclass is experiencing a disproportionate share of problems in American society. Unskilled and frequently unemployed or discouraged about seeking employment, this social formation is more economically marginal and socially alienated than ever before. Although the new black middle class has burgeoned as a group that is better educated, better paid, and better housed than their predecessors, grave inequities persist between them and the white middle class.

2.1.1 The Black Underclass

The black component of the underclass is concentrated in large cities. The transformation of industries in urban America from manufacturing to information processing is leaving many African-Americans unskilled in relation to available jobs and consistently unemployed. Technological in nature, the information industries require people who are skilled in areas such as

1 Landry, Bart. The New Black Middle Class (Part I). Focus: The monthly newsletter of the Joint Center for Political Studies, September 1987. p. 5.

2 Hill, Robert B. The Black Middle Class Defined. Ebony, August 1987. p. 32.

3 Marable, Manning. How Capitalism Undereveloped Black America. Boston, South End Press, 1983. p. 32.

4 Ibid., p. 158.

5 Ibid.

information processing, engineering, and finance. An overwhelming majority of African-Americans lack these skills. They tend to be concentrated in service-level occupations such as janitors, cashiers, clerical workers, and food-service workers, where wages are low and opportunities limited. Presented with few options for economic mobility, many who live in cities where technological transformation is taking place have become entrenched in poverty.

The plight of these African-Americans has been intensified by recent cuts in federal spending for social programs. An Urban Institute study asserts that government programs do less now than in the past to protect people from poverty.[6] By implementing stricter income eligibility limits and offsetting benefits more fully for earnings, the federal government has succeeded in excluded many of the working-poor and near-poor from benefit programs and greatly reduced benefits for others.

The severity of poverty in large cities has produced a number of social problems. People who are employed but who have never moved from the level of bare subsistence living, people who spend a large part of their time looking for low-skilled jobs, and people who have resorted to socially deviant entrepreneurial activities, such as gambling and drug dealing, live and interact in the same community. They remain socially isolated from the more stable classes of African-Americans. Observers have often identified (sometimes stigmatized) this group as the "underclass" because social problems such as unemployment, out-of-wedlock births, high proportions of female-headed households, welfare dependency, and violent crimes are more common among them than the more stable classes of African-Americans.

2.1.2 The Black Middle Class

Although better off than the black underclass, the black middle class appears to be equally vulnerable. The Black Enterprise Board of Economists has documented the inequities between the black middle class and the white middle class. And they have also suggested that under current U.S. economic and social conditions, the black middle class may have reached its zenith.[7]

The income of black middle class families relative to white middle class families varies in absolute terms and by the number of wage earners in the family. The real income of black middle class families has risen consistently in recent years.[8] For those earning between $25,000 and $34,999, real income increased by 14.3 percent in 1985 and by 14.7 percent in 1986. For those earning between $35,000 and $49,999, real income has increased by 11.8 percent in 1985, and by 12.4 percent in 1986. On the average, however, the real income of white middle class families has advanced by a significantly higher percentage — showing a 19 percent increase in 1985, and an 18.6 percent increase in 1986 for the first group; and showing a 19.9 percent increase in 1985 and a 20.6 percent in 1986 for the second group.A significantly larger percentage of black middle class families than white middle class families lacks the income to maintain a middle class standard of living. In his seminal work on the black middle class, Bart Landry points out that although both groups as a whole rely on the wives' salaries to approach a middle class living standard, the need is far greater for black middle class families than white middle class families.[9]

As individuals, middle class African-Americans typically have lower earnings and opportunities for advancement than their white counterparts. Landry has shown that black male supervisors do not have access to the same type of supervisory positions as whites, they are not rewarded as well, and they do not profit to the same extent as whites from educational achievement, previous work experience, and seniority.[10] Black males suffer additional discrimination if they live in the South.

Black females, like white females, are confronted with the employment obstacles associated with working in a male-dominated market. But Landry asserts that even though black females have caught up with white females in earnings, the income of black females is allocated differently.[11] Their income is allocated largely on the basis of their educational credentials and residence in the North. The income of white females is allocated largely on the basis of the sector in which they are employed and their supervisory experience. What this means is that, on the average, with less education, white females can earn the same as black females.

Certain changing practices in the corporate sector will have a disproportionately negative affect on African-Americans who are employed (or who are seeking employment) in these organizations. To remain competitive, many corporations have begun to retain employees in the traditional areas such as marketing, budgeting, and accounting, as they cut back staff positions. These changes are particularly important to black managers because they tend to be employed as middle managers and have less seniority. In fact, the Black Enterprise Board of Economists reports that the growth in the number of

6 Palmer, John L. and Isabel V. Sawhill, eds. The Reagan Record. Washington, The Urban Institute, 1984, p. 13-14.

7 Hylton, Richard D. Confronting the Challenges of a Changing Economy. Black Enterprise, January 1988. p. 48.

8 Ibid., p. 49.

9 Landry, Bart. The New Black Middle Class. Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1987. p. 134, 137.

10 Ibid., p. 122-129.

11 Ibid., p. 129-132.

African-Americans entering corporations as managers has slowed dramatically between 1980 and 1986.[12]

These findings suggest that racism contributes to the income gap between African-Americans and European-Americans. In fact, a recent *Business Week* article reports that discrimination persists in the marketplace,[13] at a time when the federal government has reversed its active role in insuring the rights of minorities and in compensating for the consequences of past discrimination. Rather than declining in significance, racism appears to be increasing for the black middle class.

2.2 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Besieged with obstacles to achieving economic mobility, the black underclass will continue to exist in American society unless policies are implemented that increase their life chances, and that assure strong and balanced growth in the American economy. The black middle class will lag further behind the white middle class in size and achievement unless the economy improves and affirmative action policies are strictly enforced. Specific policies for improving the social and economic conditions of African-Americans are suggested elsewhere in this report. However, it should be emphasized that some combination of racially specific public and private policies and general economic development policies are the most likely to be required to provide an adequate response to the challenge of closing the gap between African-Americans and European-Americans.

On the other side of this issue, William Julius Wilson, in his major new work on the black underclass, argues that racially specific public policies are no longer appropriate because the basis of black oppression is now economic. From his perespective, general economic policies that will deal with elevating this entire layer regardless of race are most appropriate.[14] We believe he is mistaken and that both kinds of efforts are essential.

12 Hylton, Confronting the Challenges, p. 52

13 Landry, Bart. The New Black Middle Class (Part II). Focus: The monthly newsletter of the Joint Center for Political Studies, October 1987. p. 7. Ellis, James E. The Black Middle Class. Business Week, March 14, 1988. p. 70.

14 Wilson, William Julius. The Truly Disadvantaged. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1987. p. 112.

3.0 THE SPECIAL QUESTION OF BLACK CHILDREN

The future of African-Americans is most directly and concretely manifest in the condition of black children. What will happen to these children under the alternative futures described in this report?

3.1 THE PRESENT CONDITION AND OUTLOOK OF BLACK CHILDREN

What is the current condition of black children? Who are they? How do they live? What do they face? The Children's Defense Fund has provided a neatly encapsuled set of answers to these questions:[1]

Compared to white children...black children are

twice as likely to

- die in the first year of life
- be born prematurely
- suffer low birthweight
- have mothers who received late or no prenatal care
- see a parent die
- live in substandard housing
- be suspended from school or suffer corporal punishment
- be unemployed as teenagers
- have no parent employed
- live in institutions;

three times as likely to

- be poor
- have their mothers die in childbirth
- live with a parent who has separated
- live in a female-headed family
- be placed in an educable mentally retarded class
- be murdered between five and nine years of age
- be in foster care
- die of known child abuse;

four times as likely to

- live with neither parent and be supervised by a child welfare agency
- be murdered before one year of age or as a teenager
- be incarcerated between fifteen and nineteen years of age;

five times as likely to

- be dependent on welfare; and

twelve times as likely to

- live with a parent who never married.

These comparisons are awesome, and are even more extreme than what is found for the whole of the black population in 1980. This suggests that, indeed, *without some major change or intervention, the next black generation will be in worse shape than the last several in the aggregate.* But on the other side of the question, Thomas Sowell, a well-known black conservative, argues that black children have as much chance as white children in the same income categories. For him, racism no longer conditions the future of black children,[2] and economic advancement is just a question of African-Americans beginning to take responsibility for their own destiny, rather than leaving it to others.

The outlook for U.S. children in general is negative. According to the Children's Defense Fund -- the outlook for all American children is horrible. For example, of all American children:[3]

- One in four of them is poor;
- One in five is at risk of becoming a teen parent;
- One in six has no health insurance;
- One in seven is at risk of dropping out of school;
- One in two has a mother in the labor force but only a minority have safe, affordable, quality child care.

This foreboding picture is the profile of what the American future will be without a significant change in the way the next generation of all children is treated. And this is without even considering the growing problems of alcohol and other drug abuse among young people of all races.

3.2 POLICY OPTIONS UNDER VARIOUS SCENARIOS

The scenarios can be grouped into three classes here, as is the case with the policy options sketched in section 11.0:

- the continuation of current conditions scenario

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1 Edelman, Families in Peril, p. 2-3. (As based on analyses reported in Black and White Children in America: Key Facts. Washington, Children's Defense Fund, 1985.)

2 Sowell, Thomas. The Economics and Politics of Race. New York, William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1983. p. 255.

3 Children's Defense Fund. A Call for Action to Make our Nation Safe for Children: A Briefing Book on the Status of American Children in 1988. Washington, D.C., Children's Defense Fund, 1988. p. iii.

(Scenario 1)

- the economic recovery or economic and social transformation scenarios (Scenarios 2 and 3)
- the moderate decline and total economic and social collapse scenarios (Scenarios 4 and 5).

3.2.1 Policy Options under Scenario 1 (Continuation)

For those who believe most strictly in the free market economy, the only policy is hands off entirely. To them, there is a rationality for the difficulty suffered by black children, whether it is their lack of utility in the labor market or their alleged genetic deficiencies. In either case, they should be left to their own devices.

For those who believe there is some broader social responsibility for the condition of black children, there are numerous policies that should be entertained. Many of them have been compiled in a Congressional Budget Office report.[4] But in the context of the current policy outlook, there is little hope for new policy initiatives since so much of the public and private leadership has taken the position that the current level of public and corporate debt leaves no room for such action.

The future of black children under the continuation of present conditions is bleak, as is the future of a great many other American children.

3.2.2 Policy Options under Scenarios 2 and 3 (economic recovery or economic and social transformation)

Under these more favorable conditions, many additional policy options could be entertained by those who believe in this kind of government intervention. These would come in the form of providing a set of life assurances for *all* American children.

- Prenatal medical care and proper nutrition for *all* expectant mothers in the United States would assure that the incidence of disease and death of mothers and newborns would be limited, and that the incidence of birth defects and mental disabilities in children would also be limited.
- A greatly enhanced immunization program for young children should be advanced to curtail unnecessary childhood disease.
- The assurance of proper nutrition for *all* young children would greatly reduce their health problems and raise their possibilities for leading full productive lives.
- The proper care of *all* American children in their early years could be improved by providing more public financial and curricular support for day-care centers and perhaps for family day care.
- A massive program to revamp American public education would greatly reduce unemployment in the present generation of young children when they reach maturity.
- This, of course, assumes that jobs are available and that job discrimination has been curtailed. Therefore, any policies assuring the generation of a high growth balanced economy would augment the life chances of the present generation of black children.

3.2.3 Policy Options for Children under Scenarios 4 and 5 (moderate decline or total economic and social collapse)

Under more difficult economic and social conditions, the future of black children would be extremely limited, and the next generation of African-Americans would be called into question.

Some believe that the condition of black children is essentially their own fault or that of their parents, who have failed to take advantage of the great and open opportunities available in this society. For them, the solution would be to let things work themselves out without government intervention.

For others, who believe in one form or another of government action to address such conditions, it would be very difficult to find public funding for the kinds of programs they would favor. And they would be likely to view their essential task as determining how to do the things suggested above without the full support of the federal government -- relying more on private funding than ever before. The outlook from their perspective would be grim.

4 U.S. Congress. Congressional Budget Office. Reducing Poverty Among Children. Washington, Congressional Budget Office, May 1985. p. 33-148.

4.0 AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN SCIENCE, ENGINEERING, AND TECHNOLOGY

The future of African-Americans may be significantly determined by the extent to which they participate in science, engineering, and technology in the years to come. It is obvious that the accustomed preeminence of the United States in scientific, technical, and industrial development is now being challenged by other countries. As a National Science Board commission on education concludes...

> Already the quality of our manufactured products, the viability of our trade, our leadership in research and development, and our standards of living are strongly challenged. Our children could be stragglers in a world of technology[1].

Science, engineering, and technology represent the leading edge of American industry and employment, and they are not functioning the way that they should to assure the future of this country as a world industrial leader.

It has become clear in a Hudson Institute study of the future American workforce that the population group from which most scientists and engineers have been drawn in the past, namely white males, will be a declining element of the total U.S. population.[2] To maintain the current U.S. position in science, engineering, and technology, it is necessary to involve more African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and women of all ethnicities in these occupations. *It is no longer a matter of justice or morality for African-Americans to be fully educated for participation in the emerging American economy, but a matter of national security.*

While it is true that the growth in employment has been primarily in the service sector, much of the new employment with strong career development potential will be in industries emphasizing science, engineering, and technology. If African-Americans are not positioned to take advantage of these new opportunities, the next generation will not be able to maintain the position of the present generation, and the upward socioeconomic mobility of those at the bottom of the black income distribution will be even more limited than it is now.

- It has been argued earlier that to the extent that African-Americans have managed to secure positions in the ranks of industrial management, they are concentrated in staff positions requiring little technical training that are among the first to be terminated in an economic downturn.
- African-American youths in the underclass and working class who do not obtain at least some modicum of technical training will be subjected to a continuing history of marginal employment and unemployment, especially when the economy is declining.
- Opportunities for the black business development required for black participation at the core of the economy are likely to be concentrated in industries that are based on the most viable technological innovations.

For these reasons, the role of African-Americans in science, engineering, and technology merits special attention.

4.1 THE PRESENT

As noted in earlier sections, African-Americans have made substantial gains in education, employment, and other aspects of life in the past several generations, but so have European-Americans. As a result, the gap between them has been sustained in spite of the much celebrated gains. It is important to be mindful of this basic underlying condition in considering how African-Americans can come to participate in the front ranks of American science and technology.

4.1.1 Education

The National Science Foundation has identified a number of possible standards for measuring the activities and status of African-Americans in science, engineering, and mathematics education. Among them are precollege preparation, undergraduate preparation, graduate support status, and postdoctoral appointments. In implementing these standards, the National Science Foundation has drawn the following conclusions:[3]

- In high school, African-Americans are far less likely to take science and mathematics courses than European-Americans, which results in far lower results on achievement tests such as the National Assessment of Educational Progress mathematics and science sections, as well as on the Scholastic Aptitude Test.
- But black high school seniors are slightly more likely (41 percent) than European-Americans (39 percent) to indicate science or engineering as their probable college majors.
- In undergraduate school, African-Americans earned only 5.5 percent of the degrees in science and engineering, while accounting for 10 percent of the overall undergraduate enrollment.
- In graduate school, African-Americans earned 3.8 percent of the master's degrees and 2.2 per-

1 National Science Board Commission on Precollege Education in Mathematics, Science and Technology. Educating Americans for the 21st Century: A Plan of Action for Improving Mathematics, Science and Technology Education for All American Elementary and Secondary Students So That Their Achievement Is the Best in World by 1995. Washington, National Science Board Commission on Precollege Education in Mathematics, Science and Technology, September 12, 1983, p. v. [This is referred to as NSB in subsequent notes.]

2 Johnston, Workforce 2000, p. 89-90.

3 The following facts are reported in National Science Foundation. Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering. January 1986. p. 27-34.

cent of the doctoral degrees in science and engineering, while comprising 5 percent of graduate enrollments.

- African-Americans are more heavily concentrated in psychology, life science, and social science than European-Americans.
- In the sources of support for graduate education, European-Americans are far more likely than African-Americans to be supported by the universities they attend.
- Very few African-Americans receive appointments for post-doctoral studies and research in comparison to European-Americans.

4.1.2 Employment

As with education, there are several potential measures of the participation of African-Americans in the science and engineering segment of the labor market, including employment levels, fields of specialization, years of experience, and career patterns. In analyzing the participation of African-Americans in the labor market, the National Science Foundation has concluded that...[4]

- African-Americans accounted for only 2.3 percent of the employed scientists and engineers in 1984, while they represented 12 percent of the population, 10 percent of all those who were employed, and nearly 6 percent of those employed in the professions and related occupations. This gap remained in spite of a rate of increase between 1976 and 1984 that was about twice as fast (138 percent) as the comparable gain among European-Americans (70 percent). Significantly, the difference between these rates declined for the 1982 to 1984 period, when the increase for African-Americans was 27 percent in contrast to the white rate of 22 percent.
- The participation of African-Americans in science and engineering occupations varies substantially by field. In 1984 almost 5 percent of the mathematical and social scientists were black, while less than 1 percent of the environmental scientists were. Of those who were scientists or engineers, African-Americans (59 percent) were much more likely than European-Americans (45 percent) to be scientists than engineers. Between 1976 and 1984 the most rapid increases occurred among black computer specialists (656 percent) and social scientists (382 percent). The comparable white increases were 255 percent and 54 percent.
- About 40 percent of black scientists and engineers have fewer than 10 years' experience, compared to 31 percent of European-Americans.
- In 1984 approximately 63 percent of white scientists and engineers and only 55 percent of African-Americans were working in industry. And proportionately fewer African-Americans than European-Americans occupy engineering management roles, though members of both groups were about as likely to be scientific or engineering managers overall.
- African-Americans in these technological fields were more likely to be on the staffs of colleges and universities than European-Americans. And of those holding doctoral degrees employed by four-year institutions of higher learning, European-Americans are more likely to have tenure than African-Americans, though more African-Americans (23 percent) than European-Americans (15 percent) were in tenure-track positions.
- Though black scientists and engineers are slightly more likely to be in the work force than white ones, African-Americans are also more likely to be unemployed, underemployed, or working in positions not involving science or engineering.
- Black scientists and engineers on the average earned only 87 percent as much as European-Americans, and the average salaries were lower across all science and engineering fields.

4.1.3 Business Development

African-Americans generally lag far behind European-Americans in business development, and the pattern holds for technologically oriented industry in particular. There are a number of black high technology firms, especially those involving computer science, but white-owned firms clearly predominate.

There is no study of high technology industry that reveals patterns of ownership by race. However, in analyzing the available data on minority business, it is possible to guess at the comparative participation by race, though such estimates are necessarily crude.[5] For example, new technology can be used in almost any industry – from microprocessor firms to sandwich shops. So what is left, initially, is to analyze those industries that are most likely to be using new technology, which are highlighted in the Census data on minority business, where data are reasonably complete. Industries most likely to make heavy use of new technologies are as follows:

- heavy construction contractors
- textile mill products industries
- chemicals and allied products industries
- rubber and miscellaneous plastics industries
- primary metal industries

4 The source for these statements is National Science Foundation. Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering. January 1986. p. 12-13.

5 U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1977 Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises, Black. p. 11. 1982 Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises, Black. p. 4.

- fabricated metal products industries
- .electric and electronic equipment industries.

In looking at data from these industries, it can be surmised that...

- All of black business comprised $12 billion to $15 billion in gross receipts in the early 1980s, while white business comprised about $4 trillion.[6]
- Only about 3 percent of the gross receipts of African-Americans firms were in those industries that are most likely to be dependent on new technologies, while about 20 percent of white receipts were in such industries.[7]

4.2 THE FUTURE: POLICY CONCERNS

The future of African-Americans in science, engineering, and technology is uncertain, but it is extremely important, as it spells the way to survival or oblivion in employment and business development. Though there have been major increases in black participation in technologically oriented industries over the past 20 years or so, the growth of white emphasis on these areas has increased apace, so that a gap has been sustained. It is clear that without some substantial public and/or private intervention to modify current patterns of education, employment, and business development, the racial technology gap will persist and may even widen.

The policy options here are manifold, and as with the question of the future of black children, they are most productively grouped according to anticipated social and economic developments, as manifest in the configuration of the five scenarios. More specifically, the scenarios can be grouped into three classes:

- the continuation of current conditions scenario (Scenario 1)
- the economic recovery or economic and social transformation scenarios (Scenarios 2 and 3)
- the moderate decline and total economic and social collapse scenarios (Scenarios 4 and 5).

4.2.1 Policy Concerns with the Continuation of Current Conditions

If this scenario emerges as the pattern of social and economic development in the United States, the position of African-Americans will be likely to deteriorate relative to the position of European-Americans:

- In science, engineering, and technology education, there will be proportionately fewer black bachelor's and doctoral degrees awarded.
- In employment, proportionately fewer African-Americans will be employed in positions in these fields.
- And with the anticipated economic downturn, black ownership of new firms emphasizing newer technologies will also decline.
- These tendencies must be reduced by bold and imaginative new policies.

4.2.2 Policy Concerns if Conditions Improve

If there is a modest or dramatic improvement in economic and social conditions, the overall black position in scientific, engineering, and technological endeavors will probably improve. If the regeneration of economic and social conditions is only modest, it is unlikely that there will be any marked improvement in black participation in these fields. However, if there is a dramatic positive change, the availability of resources for enhancing black participation in these and other beneficial activities will be substantially augmented. Elementary and secondary education curricula that prepare students for careers in science and engineering can be strengthened, even in those hard-strapped public school systems with large proportions of low to moderate-income black students. Financial aid and other student support, such as tutoring and counselling services, will be more available to college and university students in science and engineering.

The accessibility of qualified African-Americans to upwardly mobile positions in government and industry will be likely to expand. In fact, the *Chronicle of Higher Education* has reported that many of the more rewarding employment opportunities are likely to be found in science, engineering, and technology.[8]

4.2.3 Policy Concerns if Conditions Deteriorate

If there is a modest or dramatic social and economic degeneration in the United States, even those opportunities existing now will be reduced, and the possibilities will be extremely limited.

And of course, there are those who do not believe that the low participation of African-Americans in these fields is a problem, as much as it is the result of alleged inherent inferiority of African-Americans. For those persons, any such efforts would be inappropriate at best.

Under conditions of moderate or severe economic and social degeneration, it is quite likely that deeper questions of black survival will take precedence over concern with augmenting black participation in science, engineering, and technology.

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6 See Table 3 of this report.

7 Ibid.

8 Specifically, the differential monthly incomes by field of degree are indicated in: Educational Attainment and Monthly Income. The chronicle of higher education. v. 34, no. 7, October 14, 1987. p. A36.

4.2.4 What African-Americans Can Do in Any Case

There are a number of things that African-Americans can do whatever the economic conditions. They principally involve working with existing black institutions to leverage some improvements.

- Public school systems with high proportions of black students could mobilize existing resources to do a lot more in the science and technology components of their educational programs. Historically black institutions of higher learning may play a major role in this.
- Black churches could be organized to provide supplemental programs in science and technology for elementary and secondary school students during evening hours and weekends.
- Historically black institutions of higher learning could self-consciously strengthen their offerings in science and technology, as well as require a broader band of students to get involved in these aspects of the curricula.
- And in the business development area, it is quite possible that historically black colleges and universities may find some ways to cooperate in strengthening black business development. Most particularly, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities has proposed the following objectives.[9]
- cooperation in the development of instructional programs,
- cooperation in the delivery of services to government and private business,
- sharing facilities and equipment,
- developing comprehensive programs.

9 American Association of State Colleges and Universities. Exploring Common Ground: A Report on Business/Academic Partnerships. Washington, D.C., American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 1987.

5.0 RACISM

What is the nature of racism? Does it still exist? Will it continue to exist in the United States? These questions are important in developing an understanding of the future of African-Americans.

Almost everyone will agree that racism has been a major part of U.S. historical development. Yet there is a diversity of views on the nature of current conditions. In his prominent study of race and class in America, William Julius Wilson asserts that racism is attenuated to the point where it is no longer as important as other features of social organization, such as social class.[1] In contrast to this, Manning Marable argues that racism remains an intrinsic feature of American social life.[2] In other words, Marable claims that the structural aspects of antiblack racist practices are still a principal feature of contemporary American society, and in the absence of major changes in American social organization and dynamics, will remain so. Indeed, the problem of race was viewed by one of the most prominent European writers on American civilization as a central element in the American future. Alexis de Tocqueville wrote this in the early 19th century:[3]

> The most formidable of all the ills that threaten the future of the Union arises from the presence of a black population upon its territory; and in contemplating the cause of the present embarrassments, or the future dangers of the United States, the observer is invariably led to this as a primary fact.

As used in this report, *racism* refers to negative sentiments and practices of others against African-Americans in particular, but against all peoples of color in general. It is important to separate racist sentiments (or *principles*) from racist practices (or *implementation*). Indeed, a major study of trends in racial attitudes has shown that many people may articulate nonracist principles, but when presented with a practical situation, their position may be significantly more conservative[4].

5.1 RACIST SENTIMENT

There has been a noticeable decline in racist sentiment in the American population in the past two generations, as shown in surveys. For example, when asked a series of questions regarding *principles*

- Forty-five percent of white adults favored equal access to jobs in 1945, but 88 percent did so in 1970.
- Thirty-two percent of white adults said they thought African-Americans and European-Americans should attend the same schools in 1942, and this had risen to 90 percent by 1982.
- Sixty-five percent of white adults said that African-Americans have a right to choose to live in all communities where they can afford the housing in 1964 and this had risen to 88 percent by 1976.
- Seventy-three percent of white adults asserted that African-Americans should have the right to use the same parks, restaurants, and hotels as European- Americans in 1963, and this had increased to 88 percent by 1976.
- Twenty-seven percent of white adults favored general desegregation, and 48 percent favored something between desegregation and strict segregation in 1964. Thirty-five percent favored general desegregation, and 60 percent favored a middle path in 1978.
- Thirty-seven percent of white adults said they would vote for a qualified black presidential candidate who was nominated by the respondent's political party in 1958, and in 1983, this sentiment had risen to 81 percent.

This pattern of change is characteristic of what happened when the questions are posed at the level of *principle*.[5] But when the survey questions are posed in a more action or *implementation-oriented* way, the results are quite different.[6]

- In 1964, 38 percent of white adults said that the government should assure that African-Americans are treated fairly in employment matters, while in 1974 this had declined to 36 percent.
- In 1964, 42 percent of white adults said the government should assure school integration, and in 1978 this had fallen to 25 percent.
- In 1973, 34 percent of white adults favored laws enforcing housing desegregation, and in 1983 this had risen to 46 percent.
- In 1964, 44 percent of white adults said that the government should enforce equal access to public accommodations, and this rose to 66 percent by 1974.
- There were no reported questions on events and

1 Wilson, William Julius. The Declining Significances of Race. Chicago, The University of Chicago press, 1978. p. 1.

2 Marable, How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America. p. 242.

3 de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, p. 356.

4 See Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo, Racial Attitudes in America, p. 163-192.

5 Ibid., p. 74-75.

6 Ibid., p. 88-90.

policies related to general desegregation or the prospect of voting for black presidential candidates.

These *differences between responses on principle and implementation* are not easily and definitively explained. Nevertheless the study on racial attitudes has drawn the following conclusions.[7]

> No simple and sovereign theory will explain the diverse trends...described.
>
> America is not much more color-blind today than it ever was, and...a melting-pot solution to racial differences in America has not occurred, nor is it likely to in the foreseeable future.
>
> What has changed is the normative definition of appropriate relations between blacks and whites. Whereas discrimination against, and enforced segregation of, blacks was taken for granted by most white Americans as recently as the 1940s, today the dominant belief is that blacks deserve the same treatment and respect as whites.

5.2 RACIST PRACTICE

Racial patterns in employment and economic development, health, education, family and community life, politics, and values provided in earlier sections of this report seem to suggest that racist practices are still a prominent feature of this society. Newspapers have recently reported a number of racist activities which include

- the Howard Beach incident in which several African-Americans were beaten (and one killed when chased onto a busy roadway) in New York City[8]
- the rise of overtly racist violent groups, such as The Order, the White Patriot Party, the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazi Party, and the Aryan Nations[9]
- the rise of anti-Asian violence[10]
- the riotous racial encounter in Forsyth County, Georgia[11]
- the harassment of a black cadet at The Citadel, a military academy in Virginia.[12]

5.3 CONCLUSION

Racism persists in the United States. At the attitudinal level, there have been important changes in widely held beliefs and feelings about how African-Americans should be treated, and the practices of discrimination and segregation have been largely discredited. However, there is significant persistence of both racist attitudes and practices.

The continuing existence of racial gaps favoring European-Americans over African-Americans in all six of the study issue areas affirms that racism persists by the operation of racist practices. And the development, likely continuation, and even augmentation of these gaps (in the absence of new public and private practices) are analyzed in the following sections under different economic and social scenarios.

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7 Ibid., p. 201-202.

8 Johnson, Terry E. Mean Streets in Howard Beach--Is Overt Racism Once Again a National Problem? Newsweek, January 5, 1987, p. 24-25.

9 Sullivan, Cheryl. Racists Take Violent Path. Christian Science Monitor, January 12, 1987, p. 1 and 36.

10 Ryckman, Lisa Levitt. Wave of Violence Against Asians Plagues the Nation. Los Angeles Times, February 1, 1987, Part 1, p. 3ff.

11 Friedrich, Otto. Racism on the Rise--from Howard Beach to Forsyth County. Time, February 2, 1987, p. 18-21.

12 Irwin, Victoria. Taint of Racism Persists--Recent Incidents Prompt Calls for Reassessment in U.S. Christian Science Monitor, January 2, 1987, p. 1.

PART II: THE SCENARIOS

6.0 SCENARIO 1: CONTINUATION OF CURRENT CONDITIONS

The first and most obvious of the five scenarios that form the basis of this report envisions the continuation of the same dynamics that are unfolding now. *The continuation of current conditions is more likely to happen than anything else, and there is about a 40 percent chance that it will occur.*[1] And yet there is bound to be some change in what happens even if business continues as usual. As noted by economists Fischer Black and Victor Zarnowitz, among others, alternating rises and falls in the conditions of economy and society are well-known guideposts in contemporary economic and social theory, though a great many controversies remain about how the upswings can be predicted and sustained, and how the downturns can be prevented or shortened.[2] Even if nothing essentially changes in the proximate future, it is quite likely that there will be at least one relatively sustained economic downturn between now and the year 2000. This downturn is the central event for this scenario. *Almost everyone in this country is hurt by a downturn, not just African-Americans*, though the consequences for African-Americans are clearly more severe.

6.1 EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The economic condition assumed in this scenario is a downturn in which economic growth is greatly attenuated, falling below the level required to keep pace with population growth. Unemployment is high, gross private domestic investment is down, and all other economic indicators are stable or degenerating.

In the present economic dynamics, it is almost always the case that the black unemployment rate is twice that of European-Americans, with the major burden falling on younger workers, as can be readily seen in data from the Bureau of the Census.[3] And if this recession features an unemployment rate of 8 percent or more, the black unemployment rate will be 14 to 16 percent, not accounting for persons who need work but who have stopped looking for it.

Equally important, for those African-Americans who continue to work, the nature of what is available to them changes.

- Following the general shift in the economy as a whole, a growing proportion of African-Americans is employed in low-skill service occupations (cleaning & food service in particular). As of the 1980 census, 40 percent of all black workers were employed in service occupations and 34 percent of all white workers held service occupations.[4] It can be expected that black workers will continue to be more involved than white workers in these occupations, where pay and fringe benefits are generally lower than in many other kinds of work.
- The proportion of black workers in professional and managerial positions, regardless of industry, is now about 17 percent, while about 21 percent of all white workers are so employed.[5] The participation of African-Americans in these occupations is quite likely to increase slightly between now and the year 2000 in comparison to that of European-Americans. However, black income is likely to stabilize or decline comparatively.

In the years between now and 2000 the employment conditions for African-Americans will be low pay with limited fringe benefits and little hope for advancement into the professions or management.

In entrepreneurial activity, the outlook for *black business development* is not likely to be bright, again assuming that there is no change in public or private policy. With African-Americans making up about 12 percent of the population, and based on estimates from Census studies of the economy and minority business

- less than 2 percent of all firms in the United States are black-owned (including all sole proprietorships and partnerships, as well as corporations),
- but only about 0.2 percent of all gross receipts belong to black business.[6]

The Census Bureau's *1982 Census Survey of Minority-Owned Enterprises* shows that many of these firms are very

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1 This represents a considered estimate of the likelihood of this condition. This number is presented not so much because it can be precisely estimated... which it can not, but to indicate that all of the scenarios are not equally probable.

2 Black, Fischer. The ABCs of Business Cycles. Financial Analysts Journal, v. 37, November-December 1981: 75-80. Zarnowitz, Victor, Business Cycle Analysis and Expectational SurData. Cambridge, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1984. Working paper no. 1378.

3 U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population, 1980: table no. 86.

4 Census of Population, 1980: table no. 125; 1970: table no. 81; 1960: table no. 205.

5 Ibid.

6 Computations from: (1) U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1982 Survey of Minority-Owned Enterprises, Black. p. 4. (2) Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1985. Table 868.

small and few have paid employees, such as taxicab operators or beauty salons, and a great many are financially marginal.[7] In the course of the projected economic downturn, many of these entities go out of business. Census data show that the business failure rate in the American economy is already higher during this period than at any time since the Great Depression,[8] and in the recession, proportionately more black businesses fail than white ones. The proportion of national business gross receipts that belongs to black firms decreases as well.

Black median income, which is about 60 percent of white median income in the 1980s,[9] falls as a result of these calamities. Yet white income also falls, with the result that the black/white ratio may well continue at about this level. And black poverty increases.

A recent Census Bureau report, *Household Wealth and Asset Ownership: 1984*, indicated that black median net worth is less than 1/10 of white median net worth,[10] and according to economist Lester Thurow,[11] there is no reason to believe that this ratio would improve in favor of African-Americans if economic and social conditions are stable or declining.

Finally, there is the important consideration of the impact of these developments on the social structure of the black community. Though the income profile of African-Americans has shifted upward with respect to the white income distribution, Census data show that a major gap remains.[12] For example, while almost one-half of all black families now have adjusted gross incomes of $15,000 or less, only 20 percent of white families have incomes at this level. And at the top, while only about 5 percent of black families have adjusted gross incomes of $50,000 or more, about 15 percent of white families have such incomes. [13]But what is more important, the assets of African-Americans are substantially below those of European-Americans. Even middle-income black families do not have the same level of net assets as comparable European-Americans. In the event of a severe economic downturn, middle-income African-Americans would be far more likely to slide into poverty than comparable European-Americans.

Therefore, it can be expected that in the coming economic downturn, there will be a levelling effect on the class structure in the black community. The number of low-income families will increase by the number of middle-income families whose incomes have fallen. The black poor themselves, who are in worse economic condition than comparable European-Americans, will earn even less.

While the economic condition of African-Americans has certainly improved in the last several generations, so has the economic condition of European-Americans, and a gap remains. Even with the apparent gains, the net asset level of African-Americans reveals that the gains are not yet institutionalized and irreversible at the aggregate level. This has a major impact on all other aspects of what confronts African-Americans in the next years.

6.2 HEALTH

Health is the basic measure of life. How long and how healthy an individual or group lives can fundamentally be taken as a measure of their living conditions.

In the economic downturn, the resources available to care for the health of the American population will greatly diminish.

- In the face of declining government revenues and a growing public debt, it is unlikely that government will easily find ways to expand the availability of health care in the United States.
- With the growing proportion of the working population in service occupations and with the even greater number of African-Americans in these low-paying low-benefit jobs, it is likely that the overall availability of health care services will decline.

As a result, the medically indigent population will rise, continuing the trend of the past decade or so.[14] One of the little-noted results of this increase in medical indigency is the pressure generated on hospitals and other existing health care facilities. The Hill-Burton Act (Hospital Survey and Construc-

7 Ibid.

8 Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1985, Table 879.

9 See Table 4 and Figures 6 and 7.

10 U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Household Wealth and Asset Ownership: 1984. Current Population Reports, series P-70, no. 7. Table G.

11 Thurow, Lester. The Zero-Sum Society. New York, Basic Books, 1980. p. 11-15.

12 U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Money Income of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States, 1984. Series P-60, no. 151. Table 11. See also: Table 4 and figures 6 and 7 in the appendices of this volume.

13 Ibid.

14 Alpert, Geraldine, and Marsha Hurst. Medical Indigency: A Plague on Our Hospitals. Nation, June 14, 1980: 716-719. Millard, Steve. Providing Aid for the Medically Indigent. State Legislatures, v. 11, February, 1985, p. 10-14.

tion Act) was passed after the Second World War, in an historic deal between management and labor.[15] This legislation greatly increased the health care facilities available to working people and others. One of the requirements of the act is that any institution accepting its funding can not turn away medical indigents.[16] But when medical indigents use hospital emergency rooms and outpatient services for their basic medical services[17] these and other services at hospitals located near large populations of poor people may find themselves overwhelmed, and may relocate or close these services just to keep themselves solvent. In many localities key hospitals serving such populations have been closed in recent years in spite of the benefits offered by the Medicaid program.[18]

Furthermore, the economic recession brings increases in the incidence of drug abuse for the population as a whole. However, recent studies show that the burden of current increases is falling most heavily on low-income persons, and that middle-income users are declining.[19] Because so many more African-Americans are in the low-income categories, it is very likely that increasing drug abuse will fall more heavily on them than on European-Americans.

The joint impact of these health care developments is a degeneration in the status of black health in comparison to that of European-Americans. This has an impact on job performance, as it is difficult for a frequently or chronically ill person to perform to the standards of many jobs.

Some of the degeneration in black health may take place without an economic recession or even in the event of a modest economic recovery and expansion. But the economic downturn certainly exacerbates whatever negative tendencies are already present.

6.3 EDUCATION

According to distinguished historian John Hope Franklin and others, the quest for education has long been a central value in certain segments of the black community.[20] The rise in the educational status of African-Americans with respect to European-Americans over the last several generations is largely attributable to this. And while there has been some moderation of this concern in the past decade or so, it will certainly continue to play a strong role in the future development of the black community.

Specifically, in this scenario the level of high school completions is steady, and illiteracy continues to diminish. However, there are some disaster areas in elementary and secondary education, especially in big city public school systems where the U.S. Department of Education has estimated the high school dropout rate at 30 percent or more.[21]

In higher education, increasing costs and contracting availability of student financial aid reduce the already low black participation in higher education. Studies by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the American Council on Education, and the College Entrance Examination Board have shown that changing the emphasis in federal student financial aid policy from grants to loans will drive many black students out of higher education, largely because black students are not inclined to incur debt to finance education.[22] Furthermore, according to a well-informed source, a Civil Rights Commission report suppressed by the Reagan Administration found that changes of only a few hundred dollars in the annual cost of higher education to black (and Hispanic) students will greatly raise the probability that they will not continue. Black participation in professional training programs will probably be the hardest hit, resulting in a sharp decline in the pool of trained African-Americans available for professional and managerial positions.

6.4 COMMUNITY AND FAMILY LIFE

All of the above developments adversely affect the quality of black community and family life.

- Increasing unemployment sharply diminishes the income of a great many families and in-

15 Public Law 79-725. For the nature of the deal, see Feshbach, Dan. What's Inside the Black Box: A Case Study of Allocative Politics in the Hill-Burton Program. International Journal of Health Services. v. 9, no. 2, 1979..

16 Public Law 79-725, sec. 601. Rose Marilyn G. Federal Regulation of Services to the Poor Under the Hill-Burton Act: Realities and Pitfalls. Northwestern University Law Review, v. 70, no. 1, March-April 1975, p. 168-201. Institute of Medicine. Health Care in a Context of Civil Rights. Washington, National Academy Press, 1981. p. 15.

17 Basic medical care is normally called "primary care."

18 Alpert and Hurst, Medical Indigency, p. 10-14.

19 Kerr, Peter. Rich vs. Poor: Drug Patterns are Diverging. New York Times, August 30, 1987: 1, 28.

20 Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 268.

21 U.S. Department of Education. Office of Educational Research and Improvement. Center for Education Statistics. Who Drops Out of High School? Findings from High School and Beyond. May 1987. p. 24.

22 American Association of State Colleges and Universities. Student Aid and Minority Enrollment in Higher Education, presented by Applied Systems Institute, Washington, January 1985. p. 20-23. American Council on Education. Office of Minority Concerns. Fifth Annual Status Report, 1986. p. 10, College Entrance Examination Board. Equality and Excellence: The Educational Status of Black Americans. New York, 1985. p. 41-43.

dividuals, and the pressures on many black families rise exponentially.

- The decrease in adequate health care further compromises the support systems of families, and makes it difficult for all but the most healthy members of the black working population to do well on the job.
- The reversal of past gains in educational opportunity and achievement challenges African-Americans to question the high value they place on education and it tarnishes the future of black youth. Moreover, African-Americans face greater difficulties in maintaining their families.

The proportion of married couple families diminishes, which helps to increase the level of poverty, as available Census data show that black female-headed families are predominantly impoverished.[23]

To make community life worse, with a marginal increase in drug abuse — especially among low-income people — the level of street violence in cities and towns increases. With financial and other difficulties already facing them, African-Americans find this a formidable additional burden.

The geographic isolation of large elements of the black community continues to limit access to employment opportunities. Approximately 60 percent of the black population resides in central cities,[24] while most of the new jobs are developed in the suburbs and small towns.[25] In some cases manufacturing companies purposely close factories in urban areas with high proportions of blacks and/or build new ones in rural areas that are almost exclusively white. In reporting employment conditions in industrial states, Jacob Schlesinger of the *Wall Street Journal* writes,[26]

> ...last December...General Motors Corp. mothballed two 70-year-old factories in southwest Detroit while Honda Motor Co. cranked up a third shift at its spanking-new engine plan in Anna. The Detroit neighborhood is mostly black and Hispanic, like the GM workers. Anna is virtually all white, like the Honda workers.
>
> It is a pattern cropping up all across industrial America. Optimists talk of "reindustrialization" by pointing to the spate of new plants, mainly Japanese, popping up in Rust Belt states such as Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. But the new factories, unlike those they are supplanting, are mostly in small towns. So, rural whites are hitting the jobs jackpot, while urban minorities are hitting the streets.

The importance of this is far greater than the number of black manufacturing workers losing their livelihood.[27]

- Jobs in the auto industry have in themselves been a major route for African-Americans into the middle class.
- And the impact of the auto industry on the economic well-being of the black community has been enormous. For example, in the negotiations some years ago to save the Chrysler Corporation from bankruptcy, it was reckoned that this auto manufacturing firm alone was responsible for at least 1 percent of all the income of African-Americans.

As social and economic conditions worsen, some people become increasingly alienated, and their participation in churches and other community institutions diminishes. Yet some seek the solace of the church, and overall church membership is, therefore, stable but not increasing.

6.5 VALUES

Social psychologist Milton Rokeach defines a value as...[28]

> ...an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. A value system is an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance.

Rokeach further tells us that values, the basic beliefs and assumptions so closely related to individual personality and outlook, are both a cause and a result of social dynamics. Values may condition the way an individual approaches an event or problem, but values that are held by a large segment of

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23 U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986. Table No. 755; U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. Progress Against Poverty (1959 to 1985) and the Poverty Debate. Issue Brief No. IB84013, by Thomas Gabe, September 15, 1986 (archived February 18, 1987). Washington, 1986. p. 11; Farley, Blacks and Whites, p. 186.

24 U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982. Table 24.

25 Downs, The Future of Industrial Cities, p. 285.

26 Schlesinger, Jacob M. Fleeing Factories–Shift of Auto Plants to Rural Areas Cuts Hiring of Minorities. Wall Street Journal. April 12, 1988. p. 1, 28.

27 Ibid.

28 Rokeach, Milton. The Nature of Human Values. New York, The Free Press, 1973. p. 5.

society may be a product of the long-term operations of well-established social institutions.[29]

If present conditions continue in the United States, an economic recession will occur, as noted earlier. This event is a major challenge to African-American families as economic and social decline confront the family and other social organizations close to the individual, such as social clubs and the church. Yet sociologist Andrew Billingsley suggests that the black family (and perhaps other black organizations) responds well under pressure,[30] possibly even with some beneficial change, promoting a cooperative ethic and outlook in defense against the adversity that is historically familiar in black America.

In contrast, family and community ties among European-Americans are weakened by adversity, with resultant declines in the strength of cooperative values. With the growing isolation of white individuals in society, individualism is more highly emphasized by them in the constellation of American values. This is augmented by increased reliance of young people on television and educational institutions as the focus of socialization experiences. And both television and schooling in the United States most often foster an individualistic outlook. U.S. education normally fosters an individualistic outlook by focusing on individual performance throughout. There is usually little or no emphasis on the performance or cohesion of groups. Study groups are even discouraged in most of the student cultures of secondary schools and colleges. Television fosters individualism by the manner in which life-styles are presented, even though most studies have shown that television has no major impact on individual opinions or personality.[31]

On another dimension of white values, racist sentiment continues to diminish moderately, but paradoxically, racist practices tend to increase as societal resources contract. Racist sentiment is the well-articulated and subtly communicated notion that people of color are inferior and somehow evil. Racist practices are social actions that deny persons income, position, education, or other socially valued goods on the basis of racial differences. In American society, these denials have historically most often been practiced against people of color. Persons become less willing to share the wealth as the wealth diminishes. The low rate of real economic growth in the United States since the mid-1970s has been accompanied by public policies of retrenchment in domestic spending for programs oriented toward building and preserving people. African-Americans take the brunt of this in growing employment discrimination.

6.6 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Black political participation continues to increase, as African-Americans see this as a means of resolving the increasing difficulties that now confront them. This seems to run against the rising tide of individualism generated by the economic and social degeneration, yet the greatest apparent black political mobilizations took place in the 1984 and 1988 national elections, which focused on the presidential candidacies of Jesse Jackson, and during the 1980s recession, when Harold Washington was elected the first black Mayor of Chicago. It is quite possible that as white political participation falls during this downturn, the gap in political participation between African-Americans and European-Americans may be significantly narrowed.

The declining proportion of African-Americans among people of color in the United States increases the interest of black politicians in building coalitions with like-minded Hispanic-Americans and European-Americans.

Political calamities -- such as pervasive conventional international war, revolution, or thermonuclear war -- are still unlikely. However, to the extent that a large-scale conventional war takes place, such as the Korean War or the Vietnam War, its short-term impact on African-Americans will be great and positive, as black unemployment will decline and other aspects of the black condition will improve, the increase in black combat-related deaths notwithstanding. Analysts, such as those who wrote the *Report from Iron Mountain on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace*, have even argued that the U.S. economy depends on wars to prevent its collapse.[32]

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29 Ibid., p. 23-34.

30 This refelcts the view of Andrew Billingsley of the adaptability of the black family and its contribution to individual and group survival. (Billingsley, Black Families in White America, p. 15-21.)

31 For comments on individualism manifest in television, see: Hirsch, Paul M. Public Policy towards Television: Mass Media and Education in American Society. School Review, v. 85, August 1977: 481-512. See especially p. 502-504.)

32 Report from Iron Mountain on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace. New York, Dial Press Inc., 1967.

7.0 SCENARIO 2: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RECOVERY AND EXPANSION

In this somewhat brighter scenario, the economy expands, and with it, the positive aspects of social organization are rejuvenated. *There is about a 20 percent chance of this pattern emerging before the year 2000.*[1] The greatest chance is that there will be a relatively mild but significant economic and social downturn, with related social dynamics, as indicated in scenario 1. But there is also a possibility that a modest economic and social turnaround will take place without the normal recession, a change representing an advance that will not be significantly reversed soon. This possibility is most easily discerned in several features of the current economy:

- Whatever else the capital markets are, they are an indication of investors' bets on the future of the economy. Before the global stock market crash of October 19, 1987, many analysts argued that the amazing rise in the stock market was not so much a harbinger of bad things to come, as much as it was an indication that many stocks had been undervalued and that investors were behaving as though the future is bright. Remarkably, investment and output in many U.S. industries has *not* significantly diminished in the wake of the crash, and stock prices have partially recovered.
- In many regards, the world economy is still centered in the United States, though there are now other coordinate centers of rising economic power. And to the extent that others continue to be dependent on the viability of the American economy, they will behave in ways that will help the United States to succeed. One major example of this is the unflagging willingness of other major financial powers, most notably Japan and West Germany, to purchase the U.S. Treasury securities that are sold to finance the operations of the federal government and to fund the national debt.
- Though a good deal of American industry is committed to overmortgaged obsolete plant and equipment, its entrepreneurial activity is still very keen, and its successes are legion. On the down side, successes in American industry engendered a long spell of feverish speculative activity — including an enormous number of mergers and acquisitions, an astronomical rate of formation for new companies, a concomitant high rate of business failures, and a gargantuan aggregate corporate debt. But on the up side, many analysts see a new vitality in American industry that was not there in quieter times.[2]
- Though a surprise to adherents of the conventional wisdom, this significant economic and social recovery and expansion is not entirely unexpected.

Almost everyone in this country benefits by these events, not just African-Americans, though the consequences for European-Americans are clearly more positive than for others.

7.1 EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

One of its most salient features is the *developing shortage of labor*. As the economy expands and the impact of the so-called "baby boom" on the labor market passes, a labor shortage occurs. It is most acute in the scientific, technical, managerial, and professional categories, but it also pertains in the low-skill occupations.[3] In a parallel development, the black proportion of the American population increases.[4] With the labor shortage and the enhanced black demand for jobs, the black employment outlook improves. Tax revenues increase, but the public debt obligation is still high and rising, though at a somewhat slower rate. And this blocks the political pathway leading to more adequate education and job training programs. As a result, the expanding employment of African-Americans is principally in low-skill service occupations (such as cleaning and food service) that require little training, where wages are low, and where health and other fringe benefits are typically limited.

The proportion of African-Americans in professional and managerial occupations is stable or declining. Even with the new jobs that they occupy, the funding required to assure that qualified African-Americans of limited means can complete professional or managerial training in universities is increasingly limited.

Black business development increases moderately, following a recovery from a period of stagnation in many U.S. industries, and annual black business gross receipts rise from their present 0.2 percent of all gross receipts to 0.5 percent or more.

As a result of gains in employment, the stability of African-Americans in professional and managerial positions, and increases in black business activity, black median income rises slightly as a proportion of white income, from approximately 60 percent to between 65 and 70 percent.

Yet even with this rise — and perhaps even because of it — the polarization between the lower and middle-income groups among African-Americans increases. This produces a

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1 This represents a considered estimate of the likelihood of this condition. This number is presented not so much because it can be precisely estimated...which it can not, but to indicate that all of the scenarious are not equally probable.

2 Examples abound in the financial press in articles on the growth of high technology industries, the strengths of the mergers and acquisitions activity, and the growth of financial services industries. To be sure, there is a down side to these phenomena, and that has been amply represented, as well.

3 U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population, 1980: table no. 125; 1970: table no. 81; 1960: table no. 205

4 U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986. Table no. 26.

crisis in black leadership, which makes it somewhat more difficult for African-Americans to take full advantage of their growing position of political strength.

7.2 HEALTH

In the wake of economic expansion and social rejuvenation, the likelihood of government intervention to support more adequate health care increases. Yet as this dynamic matures, the availability of health care facilities and services to black citizens declines as their proportion in low-paying limited-benefits jobs rises.

Though increases in the medically indigent population are somewhat attenuated by the economic and social recovery, medical indigence is still so prevalent that more hospitals close or reduce outpatient and emergency services. Overall, the health care problem is stable or intensified, making it more difficult for many low-income African-Americans to be consistent in job performance.

Drug abuse is constant or rising in the black community as well as for everyone else. But the burden is heavier for low-income people, while it actually diminishes among middle-income people. Because proportionately more African-Americans are low-income than European-Americans, the burden of drug abuse is greater for them.

There are some enormously destructive and painful epidemics of new diseases — most notably AIDS but also some others. With the decline in health care availability for African-Americans, proportionately more become ill and die.

7.3 EDUCATION

There are many benefits to rising black employment. Among them is the increasing ability of many black families to support their children through college. But the increased cost of higher education and stable or declining student financial aid tend to dampen growth. Indeed, a more clearly delineated class structure emerges among black and other college students. Writing in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Michael Hirschorn asserts that at the same time that the number of wealthy students seems to be proliferating, the number of financially marginal students seems to be decreasing. Even under the best of conditions, changed financial aid policies insure that these differences will last well over into the working lives of students after they graduate.[5] For these low-income students, it is quite likely that their academic performances will degenerate because so many would have to work while they are in school. Following graduation, when many are faced with large debt burdens, they will find it difficult to buy homes, which lowers their chances of sustaining their upward social mobility.

Black participation in graduate and professional training is steady, but the access of low-income students to such training is increasingly limited.

7.4 COMMUNITY AND FAMILY LIFE

Though employment and economic development, health, and education have shown significant improvements, many problems remain. For example:

- The expansion in employment is largely in low-skill service occupations.
- Black business expands, but remains marginal as a whole.
- The general condition of black health is stabilized, but there are still major problems.
- Educational opportunity and achievement improve, but at the higher education level, graduates are left with a great debt burden, and low-income black students have less access.

Though these persistent limitations weigh heavily on the black family, the economic recovery provides, on balance, more relief than none, and the proportion of black married couple families stabilizes.

However, with the slight increase in the incidence of drug abuse, street violence is somewhat increased.

And the geographic isolation of large elements of the black community and the movement of jobs from central cities to suburbs and small towns[6] are persistent problems for access to employment opportunities.

As other social and economic conditions are stabilized or improving, church membership is consolidated, indicating a general reweaving of community ties.

7.5 VALUES

Improvements in the economic and social conditions of African-Americans and the stabilization of community ties stimulate the growth of a more cooperative outlook, especially emanating from the family and church. Yet the role of organizational sources emphasizing individualism — principally television and educational institutions — is not greatly diminished. There is a growing tension between individualism and communalism, with individualism becoming increasingly dominant.

But among European-Americans, the opposite tendency is enhanced, and as conditions improve, a more communalistic and less individualistic ethic becomes increasingly central, with a modestly rising willingness to share resources with black citizens and others who are ordinarily closed out under adverse conditions.Paradoxically, while European-Americans are likely to be more conciliatory, African-Americans begin to show an individualistic outlook that makes it difficult for them to cooperate enough to engage in productive negotiations with European-Americans who control the labor market. But this impediment is overcome with persistence.

5 Hirschorn, Michael W. Gap Between the Rich and the Poor Widening Among College Students. Chronicle of Higher Education, vol. 34, no. 1, September 2, 1987, p. A80-A82.

6 Schlesinger, Jacob M. Fleeing Factories--Shift of Auto Plants to Rural Areas Cuts Hiring of Minorities. Wall Street Journal. April 12, 1988. p. 1, 28.

Racist sentiment continues to decline modestly, but racist practices persist. This is largely because of the failure of the families, schools, and the media to successfully foster nonracist attitudes among children who reached maturity in the late 1980s. This is a period where values are in turmoil: at the same time, European-Americans have developed a conciliatory attitude toward African-Americans, but have continued their racist practices.

7.6 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Black political participation continues to increase, and more and more black citizens vote regularly and hold elective or appointive office, as a result of the hope generated in economic expansion. This trend is intensified by the presidential candidacies of Jesse Jackson.

The declining proportion of African-Americans among the peoples of color in the United States stimulates a keen interest among black politicians in developing broader coalitions with like-minded Hispanic-Americans and European-Americans.

A political cataclysm — such as a conventional international war, revolution, or thermonuclear war — is unlikely. However, if there is a large-scale conventional international war, it may well benefit African-Americans and the economic and social system as a whole.

8.0 SCENARIO 3: MAJOR POSITIVE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

This scenario, *which has only a slight (5 percent) chance of occurring*,[1] is the least likely to occur. Major social systems are transformed in a positive way. *Everyone in this country is greatly benefitted by these events, not just African-Americans.*

This scenario is distinct from the first two, and at the same time perplexing, as it does not wholly "solve" the problem of the difficult conditions in which black citizens live. What this suggests is not necessarily that the problem is intractable, but that a specially directed major effort will most probably have to be undertaken if African-Americans are to have the same rights as European-Americans. The scenario does not assume that such a sustained massive effort is indeed engaged, but it is the *only scenario under which the problem of black inequality comes close to being solved easily*. In all of the other scenarios, it would be more difficult, though not impossible, and sustained large-scaled efforts to eliminate black inequality would be imperative.

To be sure, the other major policy option — simply leaving African-Americans to fend for themselves without either intervention by the government or private organizations — has already become the position of many political actors and analysts (for example, Edward Banfield in his book, *The Unheavenly City*[2]), and will be seriously considered by others. Writers such as Banfield and George Gilder frequently base their arguments on the existence of a large (principally black) low socioeconomic group that allegedly can not be helped by public (or private) programs.[3] The direct or implicit conclusion is that this large element of the population should be "written off," while effective attention is directed at the still marginal but salvageable working class.

8.1 EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In this scenario, employment and economic development are very strong in all respects. This is no ordinary economic recovery, and it is beyond a major "boom."

- There is a technological revolution, from which a whole new basis for production in support of human life emerges. Dramatic changes occur in both industry and agriculture.
- Whole new industries are created, with ready domestic and international markets.
- As obsolete plant and equipment from past technological generations are phased out, the workers involved find a responsive education and training environment, facilitating their transition into new jobs in more promising fields.
- The internationalization of capital markets is completed, and 24-hour global operations with instantaneous transfers become commonplace. Some of the practices that have led to the most destructive forms of speculation in the 1980s are curtailed by international governmental regulation, in which all nations heavily involved in international trade participate. The result is a far more stable and rational capital market environment for the technological and production revolution.
- The conflicts that have historically engendered divisions between industrial and preindustrial nations are dissipated, making long-range planning a more reliable prospect than ever before.

Tax revenues rise, government debt stabilizes or declines, and there is now room for the initiation of major new government domestic programs at all levels. Modest tax reductions further fuel the economic transformation, as gross private domestic investment soars, frequently finding a home in highly productive placements.

The Hudson Institute asserts that one of the key facets of these technological developments for African-Americans is the emergence of major labor shortages for many occupations.[4] And although the population is growing more slowly than the 1970s and 1980s, the black population is growing faster than the white population. The labor shortage occurs at the same time that proportionately more African-Americans are entering the labor market. This unusual configuration of events greatly brightens the employment and career development prospects of African-Americans who had very limited alternatives in earlier times.

But the initial trend is for newly employed African-Americans to enter low-skill service occupations such as cleaning and food service because of their limited skills, though wider opportunities are nominally available to them. The demand for skilled workers becomes so strong that training and educational institutions create new programs to train marginally skilled persons for newly emerging positions in the mid-levels of the labor market. Analyst Gerard Gold has noted that a large number and variety of training programs have already been developed by the employers themselves,[5] and these are

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1 This represents a considered estimate of the likelihood of this condition. This number is presented not so much because it can be precisely estimated...which it can not, but to indicate that all of the scenarios are not equally probably.

2 Banfield, Edward C. The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1968. p. 244-246.

3 See: (1) Banfield, The Unheavenly City, p. 121-123; and (2) Gilder, George. Wealth and Poverty. New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1981. p. 64-74, 114-127.

4 Johnston, William B., and Arnold E. Packer. Workforce 2000--Work and Workers for the Twenty-first Century. Indianapolis, Indiana, Hudson Institute, 1987. p. xii-xx.

5 Gold, Gerard G., ed. Business and Higher Education: Toward New Alliances. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1981. p. 14.

markedly increased to meet the new demand for trained personnel. These tendencies have a very positive impact on the black employment outlook.

One result is that the proportion of black workers in professional and managerial occupations increases moderately, after more than a decade of stability or decline.

Another is that black business development increases rapidly, and moves into an apparent take-off phase, rising from approximately 0.2 percent of the total national business gross receipts to something in excess of 2.0 percent in just a few years.

Looking at the impacts for individuals and families, by the year 2000 black median income rises to as much as 80 percent of white median income, from its 1980 level of only about 60 percent. On the bottom end of the income profile black poverty is stable or declining, while overall black net worth is rising in comparison to the assets of European-Americans.

And because much of the income and asset growth in the black community is among the formerly poor and near poor, who are now working and building their assets, income classes become less distinct, and there is more harmony and less destructive competition among African-Americans.

8.2 HEALTH

With the astonishing economic and social transformation of the United States, the likelihood of government intervention to support more adequate health care increases. But because of the initial further concentration of black workers in service occupations, for a time the availability to black workers of employment-based heath insurance benefits declines. The medically indigent population continues to increase, and many more hospitals close their emergency rooms and outpatient services. It is well-known that African-Americans and other predominantly low-income groups use these services as their first (and perhaps only) contact with the health care system, and when many of these services are eliminated, a national health care crisis occurs.

This crisis is resolved with the establishment of a broad national health care plan (which requires some individual payment, but allows latitude for the selection of physicians and service organizations), fostering tighter management in the industry, and reducing individual earnings in the medical professions.

As these conditions develop, the black/white health status gap is initially stable or widens slightly, making it temporarily more difficult for some African-Americans to be consistent in job performance. However, the gap narrows significantly as the transformation evolves.

The drug abuse problem is constant or declining for African-Americans, as well as for everyone else. However, the incidence of drug abuse is still not equally distributed across different income classes. It diminishes among middle-income categories, and is stable or diminishing, though more slowly, among low-income persons as well.

8.3 EDUCATION

The social function of education and educational institutions is greatly modified. Once thought of as somehow separate from the daily dealings of ordinary life, as the great preparer for life, as the taproot of Western culture and ethical principles, the educational system now becomes far more contemporary.

- It has a new capability to make new discoveries and new principles available almost as soon as they are generated.
- Elements of education are now much more closely allied with the labor market, and for this reason, students know exactly what career opportunities are open to those completing alternative courses of study.
- Curricula have been revolutionized, and many of the stultifying materials and teaching methods traditionally a part of the elementary school curricula have given way to stimulating materials and intellectually aggressive teaching methods that bring out the talents in young people more completely and much earlier.
- Once thought of as a stage in life in which maturation and preparation for the labor market took place, education is now thought of as a life-long activity for the whole population. Everyone is in some kind of formal or informal learning experience almost all of the time.
- But most important, the values inherent in education are transformed, so that it no longer is so highly individualistic, as study groups and group projects on the leading edge of creative thinking are introduced to young people much earlier than was the case up to about 1990.

8.4 COMMUNITY AND FAMILY LIFE

As employment and economic development opportunities increase, as the health status of African-Americans improves, and as overall educational attainment rises, the proportion of black married couple families stabilizes, then begins to rise. It ultimately settles at about 88 percent, as high as it has been for European-Americans in the past several decades.

As the incidence of drug abuse drops, street violence diminishes and church membership increases — both indicators of the reemergence of a strong, cohesive, and sustaining black community. However, the geographic isolation of large elements of the black community is a continuing problem in access to employment opportunities.[6] The increasing strength of family and community ties is evident in both urban and rural settlements.

6 Schlesinger, Jacob M. Fleeing Factories--Shift of Auto Plants to Rural Areas Cuts Hiring of Minorities. Wall Street Journal. April 12, 1988. p. 1, 28.

8.5 VALUES

As the economic conditions of African-Americans improve, the cooperative outlook, so prominent in the prior period of adversity, declines as they struggle to overcome the reemergent emphasis on individualism. At the same time, the role of phenomena fostering individualism — such as television and the educational system — is moderated.

The greatly strengthened family and community structure of African-Americans and the transformed function of education have major benefits in all spheres of life, and accelerate the transformation of the overall values structure of American life. Though at first there is great tension between the individualistic and communalistic outlooks, the tension declines with the emergence of this values transformation.

Racist sentiment continues to decline, though more rapidly than ever before. And while racist practices continue for a while, they are abated in the course of the overall transformation of American values.

8.6 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In the values transformation, political participation is transformed as well, and the ideas and styles of political participation change as dramatically as they changed when mass media became an organizational cornerstone of American politics two generations ago. Most adults are now much more involved in politics, including black citizens. And politics is no longer considered the profession of a few, but an avocation of all. Moreover, the watershed presidential candidacies of Jesse Jackson have healed many old wounds in the American national community and made the hope of a successful and peaceful multiethnic national community a reality.

A revolution of the right or left is unlikely, as is thermonuclear war or any other political calamity.

9.0 SCENARIO 4: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DECLINE

In this scenario there is a moderate economic and social decline. *The chance of this scenario occurring is about 20 percent.*[1] Though this scenario has much in common with scenario, the continuation of current conditions scenario, it is distinct as well. Like scenario 1, it features a moderate economic decline, but in scenario 1 the decline is part of the normal business cycle. Here the decline is both more intense and longer lasting than the decline in the business as usual scenario. And in this case, there is a quality of permanence about this decline: whatever recovery may follow will not bring conditions back to a level of prosperity at all similar to what could be expected to follow a typical period of economic recession. *Almost everyone in this country is damaged by these events, not just African-Americans*, though the consequences for them are far more severe than for European-Americans.

9.1 EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

As the economy degenerates, tax revenues drop substantially. Before national, state, and local governments can respond by lowering expenditures, government debt has increased in a major way. Under this condition, there is little political possibility of initiating major new government domestic programs, with the possible exception of additional programs of emergency relief.

With the financial pressures increasing among middle-income groups, low-income groups, and industries to cut expenditures, the proportion of African-Americans in professional and managerial occupations declines. This is essentially because many employers continue to view the employment of African-Americans as a social responsibility rather than as an effort to provide equal opportunity to all qualified workers. Indeed, the vulnerability of black workers in general keeps black unemployment at a level twice that of European-Americans.[2] In this period of economic and social decline, the impact on black labor is devastating.

Black-owned business also declines, as does other business. But because black firms are typically relatively young and without a secure market niche, their decline is more pervasive and steeper than other business sectors. The black business percentage of the total U.S. business annual gross receipts falls below 0.2 percent.

Overall, black median income falls relative to white income, which is itself falling, and African-Americans fall further behind economically. Black median income drops to 50 percent or less than white median income, from the 60 percent that it was in the 1980s. And black poverty rises, while comparative black/white net worth falls.

Because of the marginal performance of African-Americans in the economy, there is a general decline in their economic status that is greater than that of European-Americans. And with the growth in government debt, it is unlikely that any effort to improve the status of African-Americans will be forthcoming from the government.

9.2 HEALTH

As the economy fails, the likelihood of any government effort to support more adequate health care diminishes. And in private industry, the proportionate availability of employment-based health insurance to African-Americans drops, as black employment becomes even more tenuous.

The result is that the medically indigent proportion of the population continues to rise, and more hospitals close or reduce outpatient and emergency services which further aggravates an already difficult problem.

The black/white gap in health status widens, making it more difficult for many African-Americans to be consistent in their job performance and attendance. This, of course, intensifies the root problem of economic instability, further elevating black unemployment.

To make matters still worse, the incidence of drug abuse rises among African-Americans, as well as for everyone else. But it rises radically among low-income groups, while it falls slightly among middle-income groups, though the net overall effect is an elevation.

Finally, there is a series of growing health problems, and some reach epidemic proportions, most particularly in the incidence of AIDS. Only with great difficulty are they surmounted. A larger percentage of African-Americans dies than European-Americans.

9.3 EDUCATION

Black participation and achievement in education decline substantially at all instructional levels. With the growing pressure on the black family, the community and familial support necessary for good school performance is eroded. Educational attainment falls more rapidly for African-Americans than for European-Americans, but illiteracy is stable for both groups.

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1 This represents a considered estimate of the likelihood of this condition. This number is presented not so much because it can be precisely estimated...which it can not, but to indicate that all of the scenarios are not equally probable.

2 Farley, Black and Whites, p. 40.

The impact is most severe in higher education, as increased costs and diminishing student financial aid combine to accelerate the decline of black participation. In addition, there is heightened racial tension on college campuses, as white students become more resentful of black students whom they view as unqualified but subsidized participants in an educational experience that they have had to compete and pay for.[3] This further exacerbates the problem as it increases the difficulty for black students to graduate from college.

9.4 COMMUNITY AND FAMILY LIFE

As employment and economic development opportunities for African-Americans diminish, as their health status deteriorates, and as overall educational attainment drops, the pressure on black families is intensified, and more of them disintegrate. The proportion of black married couple families continues to fall, and drops below 50 percent.

With increasing drug abuse, street violence rises, which suggests that community ties have weakened. And to make matters even worse, the social and geographic isolation of most African-Americans from access to employment and other opportunities increases.[4] Yet as other social and economic conditions degenerate, church membership rises as more people seek material help and emotional solace from religion, but the overall efficacy of the church as a cohesive force in the community does not improve.[5]

9.5 VALUES

As the economic status of African-Americans declines, the role of agencies fostering a cooperative outlook (such as the family and the church) becomes undermined by the role of those institutions that foster individualism (such as television and the educational system) rises. The result is that the emphasis on individualistic values increases moderately.

Under a condition of diminishing resources, racist sentiment and practice increase. As noted already, there is an increased antagonism between African-Americans and European-Americans on college campuses, but rising racial antagonism is also pervasive in the work environment, in city residential areas, and rural life. Moderating forces are strained, and some begin to see a dangerous condition emerging.

9.6 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Paradoxically, in the midst of the growing difficulties for African-Americans, their response at first is less political participation, but eventually they increase their participation. In other words, black voting participation and office holding decline moderately at first, then rise dramatically in an effort to reverse the emerging destructive trends.

The reformist approach to problems of the dispossessed — most clearly stated in the presidential candidacies of Jesse Jackson and the moderately conservative approach to problems — gives way to fundamentally radical statements on both the right and the left. A broad radical multiethnic coalition of low-income people (some recently middle class) and allies from other socioeconomic strata develops and becomes a potent political force. But in spite of growing social turmoil, which some would characterize as a prerevolutionary condition, political calamity — in the form of a revolution of the right or left or a thermonuclear war — is unlikely. However, major conventional international war is more likely no matter what the political outlook of any conceivable President or Congress. This could dampen the growing domestic turmoil, to the special benefit of African-Americans.

3 Without a condition of economic decline, we are already witnessing some of this on U.S. campuses. See Smith, Donald H., and Bernard M. Baruch. Social and Academic Environments of Black Students on White Campuses. Journal of Negro Education, v. 50, no. 3, summer 1981. p. 300; Is the Dream Over? Newsweek on Campus, February 1987, p. 11.

4 Schlesinger, Jacob M. Fleeing Factories--Shift of Auto Plants to Rural Areas Cuts Hiring of Minorities. Wall Street Journal. April 12, 1988. p. 1, 28.

5 Vittorio Lanternari alludes to the quest for liberation in religious ways under conditions of oppression in The Religions of the Oppressed (New York, Knopf, 1963. p. 4).

10.0 SCENARIO 5: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COLLAPSE

General economic and social collapse is not likely, but it is more likely than its opposite, pervasive economic and social transformation. *There is about a 15 percent chance of this scenario occurring.*[1] Some writers, such as historian Paul Kennedy and foreign policy analyst Harry Magdoff, assert that mature societies such as the United States in the last half of the 20th century, have great difficulty transcending those weaknesses to go on to higher stages of development.[2] These weaknesses result from an imbalance between economic well-being and military spending. These writers argue that it is likely that such societies will enter long periods of slow decline or collapse. Almost everyone in this country is damaged by these events, not just African-Americans, though the consequences for African-Americans are far more severe than for European-Americans.

10.1 EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

As tax revenues fall precipitously, the government debt obligation becomes overwhelming, and there is virtually no possibility for major new government domestic policy initiatives, not even relief. Gross private domestic investment is low, and in some industrial sectors it is even negative, as firms cannibalize their assets in a desperate struggle to survive. The banking system has crumbled under the combined pressures of massive loan defaults and panicky withdrawals. Unemployment is at 25 percent or more overall, while black unemployment exceeds 50 percent. Public and private infrastructure—the transportation, water resources, waste management, telecommunications, electric power generation, education, health, housing, and related facilities and services — degenerate, as the public and private agencies responsible for them lose the capability to maintain them properly. It is this degeneration, more than any other, that will make any reconstruction of U.S. social and economic infrastructure long and arduous. Production is minimal, agriculture is wiped out, international trade is in disarray.

Associated with this massive economic confusion there is great social turmoil, with various elements of the population in a state of psychological depression or aggravated belligerence. Brigands roam city streets and country byways, and law and order is increasingly tenuous. Daily life is frequently reduced to the Darwinian vision of the survival of the fittest.

And in this struggle, African-Americans have become a target and a scapegoat, a focus of blame for the massive debacle that constitutes the reality of the new America.

The employment profile of the United States is disastrous, and reflecting historical experience, it is worse for African-Americans than for most others. In particular, there is a major drop in the numbers of African-Americans in professional and managerial positions.

But more than that, black business declines dramatically, with the black business percentage of the total U.S. business annual gross receipts falling to less than 0.1 percent from the 0.2 percent characteristic of the 1980s.

Black median income declines to less than 50 percent of white income, from its 1980s level of about 60 percent. Poverty among African-Americans increases rampantly. Comparative black/white net worth falls.

There is a levelling effect in the social class structure of the black population, as many in the marginal black middle class slide back into poverty.

10.2 HEALTH

With the collapse of the economy, the likelihood of government intervention to support more adequate health care is greatly diminished. Indeed, it is remarkable that the government is able to maintain its present level of support for health care services. Black workers no longer have employment-based health insurance, and black unemployment approaches 50 percent.

With less help from government and private sources of health care, the medically indigent population increases rapidly, and large numbers of hospitals close or reduce emergency and outpatient services. A health care crisis of major proportions can not be resolved because public and private resources are not available. Many sick people die who would not have died in earlier years.

As a further difficulty, the drug abuse problem rises to unimaginable proportions for African-Americans, as it does for everyone else. But the burden falls like a virulent plague on low-income segments of the black community, while growth slows in middle-income segments of the population.

The black/white gap in health status widens, making it more difficult for those who remain employed to be consistent in attendance and performance.

There is a series of growing health problems, and some reach epidemic proportions, most particularly the incidence of AIDS. The death toll is high, and it falls more heavily on African-Americans than on European-Americans.

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1 This represents a considered estimate of the likelihood of this condition. This number is presented not so much because it can be precisely estimated...which it can not, but to indicate that all of the scenarios are not equally probable.

2 For an ideologically orthodox view, see: Kennedy, Paul. The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers--Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000. New York, Random House, 1988. For a view from the left, see: Magdoff, Harry, and Paul M. Sweezy. The Deepening Crisis of U.S. Capitalism. New York, Monthly Review Press, 1981. p. 93.

10.3 EDUCATION

Black participation and achievement in education declines moderately at all instructional levels, and illiteracy increases for both African-Americans and European-Americans. The educational system is in turmoil, and in some areas it becomes essentially nonfunctional. It is increasingly difficult to raise the money for education in large urban areas.

Access to college education becomes a problem for all, but a near impossibility for most African-Americans. The initial increase in hostility toward black students on predominantly white campuses makes it even more difficult to keep black enrollments up. Many historically black colleges close in the wake of the financial crisis. The decline in black enrollment in graduate and professional training is severe, with a major impact on the numbers of African-Americans in these occupational categories.

10.4 COMMUNITY AND FAMILY LIFE

As employment and economic development opportunities for African-Americans are eliminated, as the health status of African-Americans is eroded, and as overall educational attainment falls, the proportion of black married couple families continues to drop, perhaps falling below 40 percent.

As a further destabilization of black community life, the strong increase in the incidence of drug abuse leads to great increases in street violence that reach anarchic proportions. And the social and geographic isolation of many elements of the black community increases. This tendency is especially intensified by the return of many formerly middle income persons to poverty and to low-income black neighborhoods.

As other social and economic conditions degenerate, church membership rises as more people seek material help and emotional solace from this source,

but the financial basis of the church is undermined by the disastrous changes in the economy.

Community and family life among African-Americans unravel, but the long experience of African-Americans with adversity makes these calamities easier for them to deal with than for European-Americans to deal with misfortune.

10.5 VALUES

With the degeneration of the economic condition and community ties of African-Americans, the role of organizations that normally foster communalism — such as the family and church — is initially undermined by the role of those institutions that foster individualism — for example, television and the educational system. However, as time passes, the traditional mechanisms of cooperation reemerge, providing the basis for some level of social recovery from the crisis. The emphasis on individualistic values increases moderately, then there is a turn towards cooperation.

Racist sentiments and practices increase, and if major racial violence does not ensue, racism declines in favor of a more cooperative social ethic. When violence occurs, the military apparatus of government is inadequate to decisively control it, leading to repeated episodes where the emergence of prerevolutionary conditions seems imminent.

10.6 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Black voting participation and office holding decline moderately at first, then increase sharply.

Because of the prevalence of social turmoil and the growing numbers of violent episodes that government is not able to control, revolution of the right or left is more likely than at any time in American history since the Civil War. And a thermonuclear war is more likely than ever before.

Pervasive conventional international war is almost a certainty. Under other conditions, this could dampen the widening domestic turmoil to the special benefit of African-Americans. However, in this instance the development of an international war only exacerbates the condition of African-Americans domestically, making black survival a serious question.

11.0 POLICIES TO AVERT DISASTER

The future of African-Americans does not look good. Without substantial public and private policy interventions, the future for all working people in the United States is not good. Black citizens are predominantly working class people, and with the additional complicating factor of racial oppression, their future is most likely to be filled with misfortune.

New public and private policies comprised of creative investments in the people of this country and in the stabilization of their supporting institutions can avert this impending disaster. The sooner these investments are made, the greater their impact. The longer the delay in their implementation, the less effective they are likely to be in the face of the growing crisis. Looking at the special need to close the gap between African-Americans and European-Americans, the following themes for new public and private policies emerge. Many of them pertain to all races and ethnicities. And the appropriate implementing agencies vary: some can be carried out *by black institutions, some by other kinds of private organizations, some by various levels of government, and some by combinations of public and private, black and white, organizations.*

11.1 EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economic life is at the core of the potential for black advancement in the United States. Some of the policy initiatives that will help to avert disaster are as follows...

- Whatever the nature of future economic and social conditions, it will be important to implement public and private policies that assure a *strong and balanced high growth economy.* It is important to emphasize the need for balance, because if high growth means simply more profits and higher management compensation without higher real wages and living standards for workers, growth will have no impact on those most in need. Strong and balanced growth will foster conditions under which African-Americans can at least get ahead even if the remaining gap between them and European-Americans is not closed.
- But beyond this, it is essential that *all American families* have a decent income, one that will permit them to support their children in peace and comfort. To this end...
  - (a) The economy must be transformed so that the next generation of working class youth will have opportunities beyond the low-income low-fringe benefit service jobs that otherwise seem to be their lot for the future.
  - (b) For those with family responsibilities who must work in low-skilled service occupations, wages must be upgraded substantially so that workers can do better for themselves and their children.
- Black and other families in the unstable segment of the middle class must be made far more secure in their newly acquired positions.
- Federal, state, and local governments should offer inducements to the private sector, such as tax incentives, to encourage the creation of employment training programs to enable black and other workers to take full advantage of opportunities arising from the coming labor shortage. (Contrary to what is commonly believed, the Tax Reform Act of 1986 did *not* simplify the Internal Revenue Code. Indeed, the Code was rendered more complex by the passage of this legislation. Hence the addition of new tax incentives would *not* unduly complicate existing tax law.)
- Some of the available jobs should be redesigned so that existing workers can perform them until the skills profile of the entire workforce can be upgraded, which may take an entire generation, since major changes in education and training are required.
- In an additional effort to improve the employment outlook for African-Americans, the federal government should restore its efforts to eradicate employment discrimination.
- To further black participation at the core of the economy, more substantial public and private, black and white, efforts to promote black business development should be initiated. Training programs for black entrepreneurs should be offered by some of the emerging business schools in black universities in conjunction with successful entrepreneurs.

11.2 HEALTH

Health and education are essential supports for the aspiring black workforce. Unless African-Americans are healthy, they can not adequately sustain the effort required to get a good job and to keep it.

- A national public and private effort to guarantee all citizens access to adequate health care is essential to enable the black workforce to be competitive and functional in the labor market. This does not necessarily mean "socialized medicine." However, it is important for the government to assure that there is some balance between competition among health care providers and an economically sound allocation of health care resources. The government must also assure that the health care needs of everyone are met.
- A national effort to emphasize the prevention of disease and injury should seek to change the present emphasis on the treatment of diseases

and injuries once they have occurred.

- Special programs to combat AIDS, drug abuse, and other prevalent maladies should be mounted.

11.3 EDUCATION

It can be argued that the only resource that America has are its people. The nation is rich in coal, oil, iron ore, farmland, forest land, minerals, and other untold riches, but it means nothing without people to extract the minerals, till the soil, and manufacture products from raw materials. The health and skills of the American people are most important.

Among other things, education imparts the needed skills. The skills deficiencies of many persons in the current workforce are well known. It will take at least a generation to train the American workforce up to its full potential, because what is involved is the generation of a new workforce. But there are some things that can be done with the current workforce to increase their productivity and potential for advancement.

- The elementary and secondary schools are oriented toward children and already have enough of a challenge in this mission. The community colleges are adult-oriented and have demonstrated considerable flexibility. These institutions should be asked to develop programs, whose costs should be partially defrayed by industry (with offsetting tax credits), to enhance employee skills. Many of these programs could, as they are now in some instances, be offered at the work site.
- Salary increases and promotions should be offered by employers as incentives for employees successfully completing certain training programs.
- And for the next generation, the following measures should be appropriate for *elementary and secondary education:*
  - (a) The relevance of public school curricula to the labor market should be strengthened without sacrificing aspects of elementary and secondary education that provide a broad base of knowledge and stimulate cognitive development.
  - (b) Teacher and student performance standards should be raised.
  - (c) The legal age for high school dropouts should be raised to 18.
- Policies should also be adopted to stimulate faltering black participation and achievement in *higher education:*
  - (a) Vigorous recruitment and retention programs for black students should be mounted by all colleges and universities at all levels. (The required retention programs should be designed to assure that newly recruited black students develop the skills required to succeed.)
  - (b) Adequate student financial aid should be assured.
  - (c) Employers should increase their funds for educational programs for their staff members, particularly for courses that provide credit toward the completion of a college degree.

11.4 COMMUNITY AND FAMILY LIFE

Reweaving the ruptured fabric of the black community is a serious challenge. It could be argued that since Americans see an average of four or five hours of television daily, precious little time is left to spend with friends and neighbors binding the ties of community life — not just for African-Americans, but for everyone. But what makes it even more difficult for African-Americans is the removal — ironically because of racial integration — of a large element of the natural leadership cadre from the traditional black ghetto communities. This has made it more difficult for the remaining leadership to develop because it has lost a good deal of its support.

In general, there are only a few major options for regenerating the black community. At the most elemental level, there are only two...

- Some of the escaped leadership can return to the neighborhoods of their parents to strengthen the existing leadership cadre in these communities.
- The current residents of black ghettos can be offered opportunities for their children to leave to attend boarding schools in entirely different environments, so that the next generation can escape the social problems in many of these communities.
- Any other options are basically rooted in these two, because the two things that must happen to revitalize the black community are the enhancement of its leadership cadre and the transformation of its youngsters. Here are some options:
- Black youth leadership development could be promoted in schools and private organizations, such as black churches, to emphasize the most positive and productive of the values held by black youth.
- Organizations could be developed through black churches that would make some of the leadership skills that exist outside the ghetto available in these communities.
- In cases where it is possible for African-Americans to take over an entire public school system or a major portion of one, major changes in the values taught in school could be undertaken. Classes could remain in session for 12 months, with one to two-week holidays scheduled during November and December, around Easter, and during the summer. Whatever substantive knowledge and values are taught in such programs would not work without the

eradication of drugs and precocious sexual activity among youths in the community. The teachers in such schools would have to reside in the neighborhood so that their associations with the children and their families could be intimate and multidimensional. They would have to be specially trained in how to get the students' attention and how to build up their character and confidence. Teachers should be willing and able to work very hard, and be supported by first class facilities and equipment, as well as by excellent administrators and counsellors.

- Similar schools could be established in suburbs or in the countryside.

11.5 VALUES

Within the black community, it is imperative that a far stronger commitment to the community be created among youth, as well as among the current generation of adults. While those elements of society having great resources in wealth and social power can afford to be highly individualistic, the survival of African-Americans depends on our social cohesion.

- To make the best use of its limited financial resources, the black community must be willing to support organizations (and political candidates) working in the interest of black advancement.
- To increase our resource level, African-Americans must pressure their political representatives to enact laws that will provide them with assistance far beyond what they can supply from their own meager personal and organizational resources.

Many persons have made a point of attacking any effort of African-Americans to stick together in a political cause, asserting that any such effort is exclusive of others and hence racist. These assertions are patently illogical, for placing black interests first is not the same as placing Irish or Greek or Italian interests last.

While the major internal problem faced by African-Americans is inappropriate and rampant individualism, the major external problem is *racism*. As noted in an earlier section, overt racism has diminished greatly in the past two generations or so, but racist practice is still part of American life. It is essential that African-Americans and others join together to eradicate what remains of this evil. Here are some possible policies...

- While legislation and its enforcement can not directly eradicate racist sentiments in the hearts of people, it can certainly combat the impacts of racist practices by curtailing employment discrimination, housing discrimination, and the like.
- The electoral campaigns of black politicians running for office in predominantly white constituencies have had a salutary impact on the erosion of racism, as have certain of the more racially progressive television shows. But these changes are largely symbolic, when a better life that can be sustained is necessary, not better feelings that fade when the campaign is over, the television is turned off, and the bills must be paid. Yet these symbolic changes often precede more substantive changes that will deliver what is needed.

And above all, the locus of these efforts to change values in a more cooperative and nonracist direction must be the places where young children learn about people...the home, the school, among friends, in the media, and in religious institutions. All of these people and institutions have major contributions to make for change.

11.6 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation is one of the most important resources that African-Americans have in seeking a better life in America. And it is for this very reason that participation in political life was denied to them for so long. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, things began to change, but more remains to be done.

First, African-Americans must make more effective use of the political offices they now hold...

- Elected officials must be encouraged to more vigorously champion the causes and interests of African-Americans.
- Black voters in districts with large black populations must spend more time and make better efforts at influencing their elected public officials in the interest of African-Americans.
- Black voters in districts that do *not* have large African-American populations must also do better in seeking to influence their elected officials.
- When special conditions pertain in the future, African-Americans will have important policy choices to make and important positions to advocate. In particular...
- In the event of a major degeneration in economic and social conditions, emergency measures will have to be implemented. Deficit financing and measures like those adopted in the Great Depression of 1929 will have to be taken. Most likely, special remedies will have to be initiated to prevent racist sentiment and practices from reaching disastrous proportions. Aggressive racist personalities may seek to effect public policies to identify and abandon African-Americans in the "underclass" and to contain the remaining black middle class (after its more marginal members have dropped back into poverty) by intensified employment discrimination, by the enforcement of negative black population growth, and/or by outright personal physical destruction.

But it is hoped that things will not come to this condition, and the sooner that major efforts are mounted to deal with the devastation that lies ahead, the more likely it will be avoided.

APPENDICES

A.0 APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY

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A.1 OVERVIEW

This study was conducted with techniques that are widely accepted in the conduct of futures research. To be sure, this field is a relatively new and controversial one, for no one has devised a reliable means of predicting the future of social events. *Every effort has been made to be systematic in the speculations reported.* But as a general rule, forecasts should not be judged by their accuracy, but by the utility of the questions they raise for decision-makers and others who use them.

A.1.1 The values question

A significant difference in the approach used here is that there is somewhat more emphasis on *values* than in many other futures research efforts. Values are taken to mean inherent societal notions, the things we believe without even thinking about them. And because of this special notion that values are largely taken for granted, they have a good deal to do with personality. Moreover, the notion of values remains controversial, and social scientists have not been able to agree on any standards for the consideration of the relationships of values to their work.

There are many ways to look at contemporary American values, let alone their likely future configurations, and these ways of looking at values are

themselves manifestations of values perspectives. In this study two major dimensions of American values were taken as being more relevant that others:

- *Individualism and cooperation*, taken as being the opposite ends of a continuum that can, paradoxically, coexist in the same group at the same time in a complementary or contradictory way. These were taken as being crucial to the future of African-Americans. Indeed, David McClelland has identified in his study of values that individualism is an apparent requirement for achievement.[1] However, cooperation also appears to be an essential element of social relations. Sigmund Freud argues that a balanced representation of the two is characteristic of any group.[2]
- *Racism* was viewed by one of the greatest European writers on American society as a central element in the future of America. Alexis de Tocqueville wrote this in the early 19th century:[3]

  > The most formidable of all the ills that threaten the future of the Union arises from the presence of a black population upon its territory; and in contemplating the cause of the present embarrassments, or the future dangers of the United States, the observer is invariably led to this as a primary fact.

- Racism is used here to refer to negative sentiments and practices held by others against African-Americans in particular, and against all peoples of color in general.

The individualism/cooperation values are thought to have a special bearing on the possibilities for concerted positive black social action in the continuing quest for better living conditions. The extent to which racist values are held by others is taken as a potential limitation on the future of African-Americans because of its relationship to the social forces that would oppose new advances.

Likely future configurations of American values are very uncertain, and an effort has been made to relate them to the prospective patterns of social development suggested in this study.

A.1.2 Major steps in the work

There were *four steps:*

- the specification of policy areas as a framework for the study
- the generation of *forecasts* for each of these six policy areas
- the conduct of an elemental cross-impact analysis
- the generation of the scenarios.

These steps are described in the following section.

A.2 SPECIFICATION OF POLICY AREAS

One of the most frequent tasks of public policy analysts, whether in futures or other work, is to identify the smallest set of variables, among all of the myriad of possibilities, that can be used to support a given inquiry. To be certain, there are hundreds and hundreds of variables that could have been selected in doing the present study. And one of the criteria of good scientific theory — not that this study is scientific in the most rigorous sense — is parsimony. Is the theoretical statement as elegant as possible? Does it comprise the smallest number of variables necessary to elucidate the most important relationships? For this reason, and because of the limited time and other resources available to this work, the major areas of concern were consciously circumscribed.

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1 See McClelland, David C. The Achieving Society. Princeton, NJ, Van Nostrand, 1961. p. 281.

2 Freud, Sigmund. Civilization and Its Discontents. London, Hogarth Press, Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1963.

3 de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, p. 356.

More or less arbitrarily, but making every effort to be reasonable and systematic, six major areas of concern were selected.

- Employment and economic development were selected because they are basic to almost everything else.
- Health was selected because it is the basic characteristic of human existence most clearly related to the overall quality of life. Furthermore, health is related to the ability to participate in the labor market and to pursue education.
- Education was selected because it is increasingly a basic requirement for successful participation in the labor market.
- Community and family life was included because it conditions employment, economic development, health, and education, and because these other variables condition community and family life. They are all inextricably bound together.
- Values were included because they are the basic of attitudinal and ideological underpinnings social dynamics.
- Political participation was included because government is among the most important social institutions in contemporary industrial society, as well as because this study was done for government policymakers.

Many potential areas of study focus were left out, but it is believed that the uncertain seas of the black future can be well navigated using these six domains as the cardinal points of a custom-crafted compass.

It is noteworthy that in the evolution of futures methodology from the 1950s to the present, the initial efforts were to develop large-scale models with a great many variables and to walk through the analysis using the newly available digital computer. Years later, it was generally accepted that these efforts had not been fruitful. Harold Linstone uses a more commonly accepted strategy which limits the numbers of variables and the dimensions of the models as much as possible.[4]

A.3 FORECASTS

It should be made absolutely clear that these *forecasts are not precise*. Though they may well be correct, they have been done with a broad brush, with more concern for the *direction of change and its general magnitude* than for numerically precise results. Readers should not be mislead by the precision of the numbers in the forecasts (reported to two decimal places) into thinking that these forecasts are accurate to that level. These results were reported to two decimal places *only* as a way of being more systematic in the process of speculation.

Once the six policy areas had been selected, data on variables within each of them were assembled from existing open sources, relying primarily on census data from 1960, 1970, and 1980. Prior to 1960, data including race are spotty. At the other end of the time bracket, 1980 was taken as an arbitrary cutoff date for two reasons:

- Data on African-Americans may well have substantial reliability problems because of the suspicion, and often fear, with which many African-Americans regard field staff of social research projects. Even with its flaws, the decennial census is likely to be more reliable and valid than sample surveys.
- For the years between censuses, data by race are not available for many variables in the same format as in the census, resulting in comparability problems.

The forecasts were done mainly as reasoned conjectures, with some attempt to extrapolate from apparent trends from 1960 to 1980 (or other years in the case of some variables), emphasizing the direction of change and its general magnitude, as noted above. These forecasts should *not* be construed as ends in themselves, but as an intermediate step toward the generation of scenarios. Indeed, William Ascher maintains that, as a general rule, forecasts should not be judged by their accuracy, but by the utility of the questions they raise for decisionmakers and others who use them.[5]

With this in mind, it was thought that the additional increment in accuracy that could have been potentially gained by a larger investment in data analysis would not be great. Specifically, the use of several dozen existing data points, which is considered basic by most time series analysts, was not viewed as critically important to this effort, whose basic concerns are with the direction and general magnitude of likely changes. Three data points spread typically over 20 years (1960 to 1980) were thought to be sufficient to discern the probable future dynamics of the variables under consideration. Additional work in amassing more data or developing complex models was not seen as useful, based on the generally uneven accuracy of forecasting social dynamics, as reported by Ascher.[6]

The key element the forecasts in each case was *not* the forecast values and projected changes in particular variables, but the *gap between African-Americans and European-Americans*. For example, the numerical values representing black educational achievement were not so important as the ratio of black educational achievement to white educational achievement. The focus was on these ratios because the past and future of African-Americans and European-Americans is

4 Linstone, Harold A. Confessions of a Forecaster. In Linstone, Harold A. and S.H. Clive Simmond, eds. Futures Research--New Directions. Reading, MA, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1977. p. 3-12.

5 Ascher, William. Forecasting--An Appraisal for Policy-Makers and Planners. Baltimore, MD, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978. p. 4-6.

6 Ibid.

most easily and compellingly understood as centered around questions of equality. Operationally, equality is defined as pertaining when these ratios are all 1.0. It is recognized that the black/white ratio is curvilinear, and therefore, does not precisely reflect changes. However, it is viewed as an appropriate crude index of the black/white gap. And it is therefore retained as the major measure in this study.

The most relevant forecasts are provided in Appendix B below to provide readers with a first-hand look at one of the major bases for development of the scenarios. These forecasts are *not* featured in the text because they are believed to be in imprecise, though they are portrayed in a general way in the graphics presented in the Summary Report. Further, it should be noted that *the forecasts provided are only for the most likely future condition of the U.S. economy*, and do not include forecasts for less likely future conditions.

A.4 CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS

Cross-impact analysis is an effort to systematically study relationships between variables in the context of a futures research project. The cross-impact analysis method employed in this study has been developed by John Stover and Theodore Gordon.[7] It begins with the identification of a series of important potential future events, and 22 such events were identified here. It then requires the estimation of the probabilities of these events and of their contingent probabilities. The forecasts noted above were used as a basis for estimating these probabilities. The speculative nature of the forecasts contributes to the speculative nature of the cross-impact analysis, especially when it is noted that the probabilities in the basic cross-impact matrices were based on conjecture. However, the point of doing the cross-impact analysis is *not* to develop the resulting sea of numbers, but to develop more insight into the potential relationships among the variables and potential events around which the scenarios are centered. The resulting cross-impact analysis matrices are provided here *not* to impress readers or to deceive them into believing that the work is scientific rather than essentially speculative. As is the case with providing the forecasts, the cross-impact analysis matrices are included to provide readers direct access to this additional basis of the scenarios.

Subsequently, many of the relationships between these estimated probabilities and their underlying odds and odds ratios are computed or estimated, as appropriate.

The result is six matrices, full of rich insights:

- the occurrence probability matrix
- the occurrence odds matrix
- the occurrence odds ratio matrix
- the nonoccurrence probability matrix
- the nonoccurrence odds matrix
- the nonoccurrence odds ratio matrix.

These matrices are more or less self-explanatory and are provided in Appendix C below.

A.5 GENERATING THE SCENARIOS

Scenarios can be crafted in many different ways, and *it is quite possible that other futures researchers will generate different scenarios from the same data.* Readers are provided with the forecasts and cross-impact analysis matrices on which the five scenarios were based. Recognizing that these two intermediate steps were based on systematic speculation, readers are invited to develop alternative scenarios for themselves. There is a large element of intuition and creativity involved, and though all scenarios are best rooted in as much data and analysis as available resources would comfortably allow, they are not generated mechanically from data as one would do in generating a regression model or something similar.

In generating scenarios, Ian Wilson takes a set of forecasts and a cross-impact analysis together as the basis, then simply (or not so simply) writes the underlying scenario(s).[8] This is one of the most common methods, and it was applied in this study. The procedure was roughly as follows:

- review the forecasts and cross-impact analyses for constellations of potential developments
- choose a basis for selecting the scenarios (here the alternative general economic and social futures of the United States)
- determine the number and nature of the scenarios to be generated (here five were elected, as noted in the text above)
- develop the scenarios
- refine and redevelop the scenarios.

Basically, the forecasts and cross-impact analysis were studied, and the five best guesses about the future of African-Americans were generated. This constitutes informed and systematic speculation.

The probabilities indicated for each of the scenarios represent our best considered guesses. They were provided principally to note that in our estimation the probabilities of the five scenarios were *not equal*.

As can be imagined, many of the scenarios will overlap in such an exercise, and that is the case with this work. But the five scenarios are distinctive enough to warrant the inclusion of them all.

It can also be imagined that any set of scenarios could be refined and corrected and redone for a very long time, but at

7 Stover, John G. and Theodore J. Gordon. Cross-Impact Analysis. In Fowles, Jib, ed. Handbook of Futures Research. Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1978. p. 301-328.

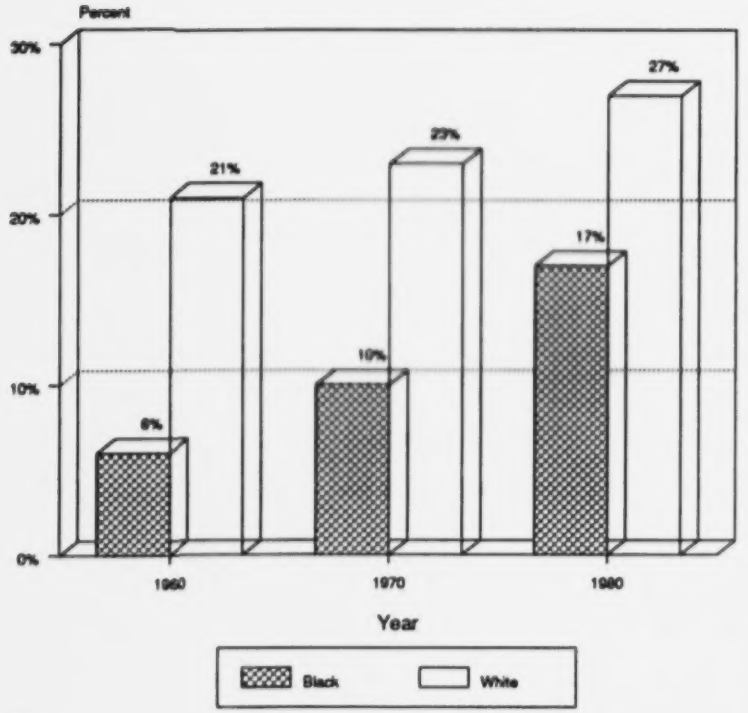
8 Wilson, Ian A. Scenarios. In Fowles, Handbook of Futures Research, p. 225-247.

some point work must cease, and this will give *almost any set of scenarios an unfinished quality*. That is the case here as well, but it is characteristic of the craft, not a peculiarity of this effort.

The scenarios constitute the final product of this effort, and that is why they are featured in this report. However, it should be quite apparent that an enormous amount of prior work was required to develop them, though they may appear to be quite simple.

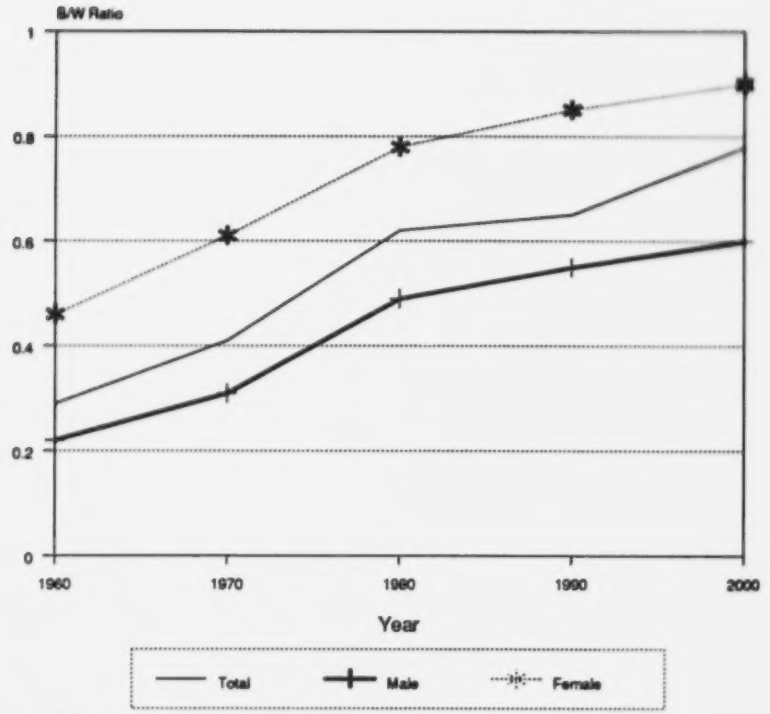
B:O APPENDIX B: FORECASTS

Figure 1: Management and Professional Occupations



Source: Table 1

Figure 2: Management and Professional Occupations, B/W Ratio



Source: Table 1

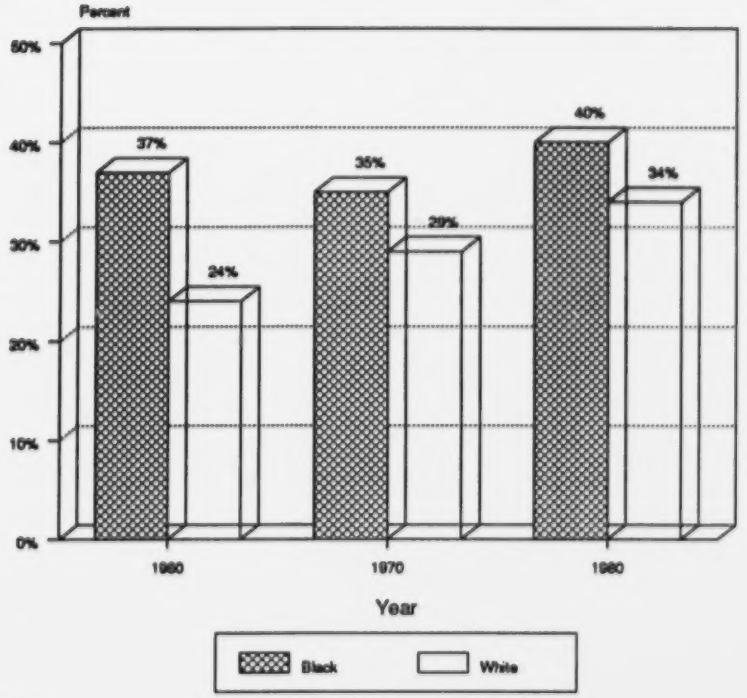
TABLE 1:
FORECAST
PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL
AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS
1960-2000*

	1960			1970			1980			1990	2000
	no.	%	B/W	no.	%	B/W	no.	%	B/W	B/W	B/W
TOTAL											
black	376	6.2%	.29	715	9.6%	.41	1,564	16.8%	.62	.65	.78
white	12,168	21.0%		16,036	23.3%		22,658	27.0%			
MALE											
black	176	4.8%	.22	326	8.0%	.31	638	13.6%	.49	.55	.60
white	8,863	22.5%		11,171	25.7%		13,692	28.0%			
FEMALE											
black	200	8.1%	.46	389	11.7%	.61	926	19.9%	.78	.85	.90
white	3,305	17.8%		4,865	19.1%		8,966	25.5%			

*1960-1980 actual; 1990-2000 forecasts.

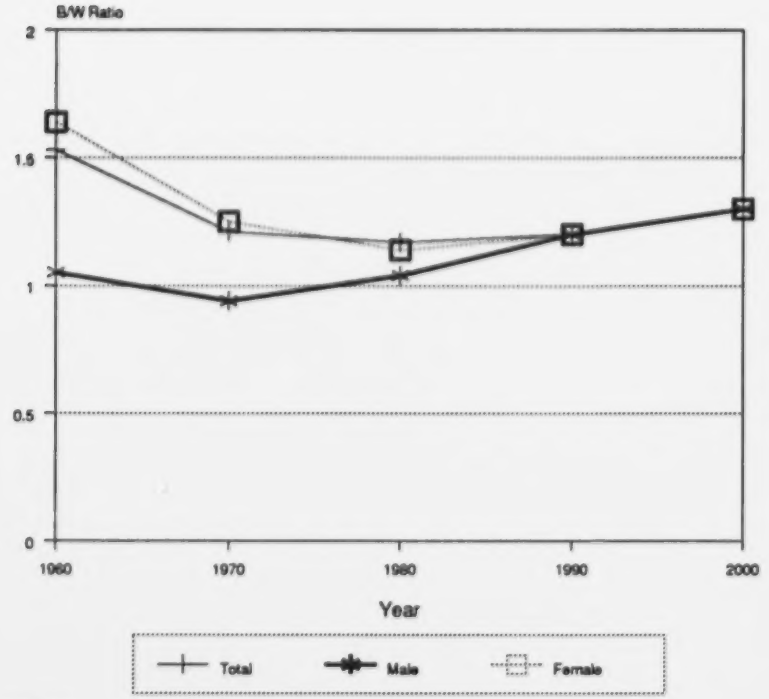
Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census.Census of Population, 1980:table no. 125; 1970:table no. 81; 1960:table no. 205.

Figure 3: Employment
in Service Industries



Source: Table 2

Figure 4: Employment
in Service Industries, B/W Ratio



Source: Table 2

TABLE 2:
FORECAST
EMPLOYMENT
IN SERVICE INDUSTRIES
1960-2000*

	1960			1970			1980			1990	2000
	no.	%	B/W	no.	%	B/W	no.	%	B/W	B/W	B/W
TOTAL											
black	2,234	36.6%	1.53	2,568	34.6%	1.21	3,737	40.0%	1.17	1.20	1.30
white	13,867	23.9%		19,698	28.6%		28,717	34.2%			
MALE											
black	631	17.3%	1.05	765	18.7%	.94	1,153	24.7%	1.04	1.20	1.30
white	6,479	16.4%		8,627	19.8%		11,594	23.7%			
FEMALE											
black	1,603	65.3%	1.64	1,803	54.2%	1.25	2,584	55.5%	1.14	1.20	1.30
white	7,388	39.8%		11,071	43.5%		17,123	48.7%			

*1960-1980 actual; 1990-2000 forecasts.

Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census.Census of Population, 1980:table no. 126; 1970:table no. 82; 1960:table no. 213.

64

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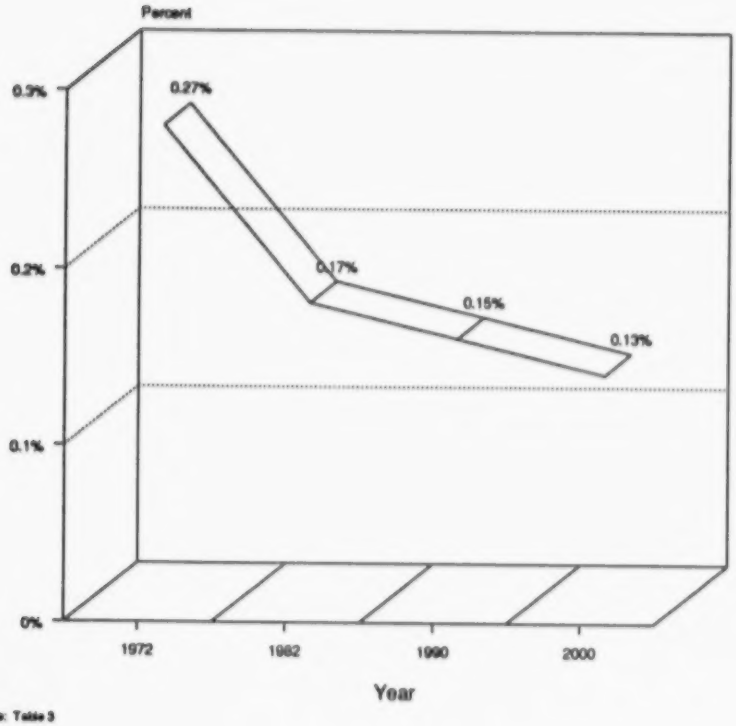
Figure 5: Black Business
% Total U.S. Gross Receipts



Source: Table 3

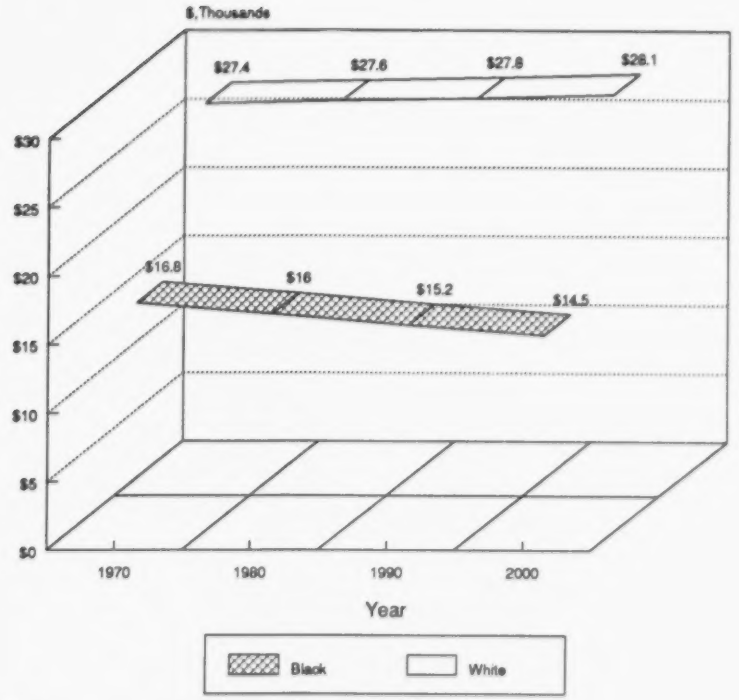
TABLE 3:
FORECAST
BLACK BUSINESS
1972-2000*

	1972	1982	1990	2000
tot no. firms(thou)	188	339	400	450
% U.S. firms	1.57%	2.02%	2.00%	2.00%
tot gross rcts($mil)	5,534	12,444	16,800	21,600
% U.S. tot rcts	.27%	.17%	.15%	.13%
avg rcts/firm($thou)	29	37	42	48

*1972 and 1982 actual; 1990 and 2000 forecasts.

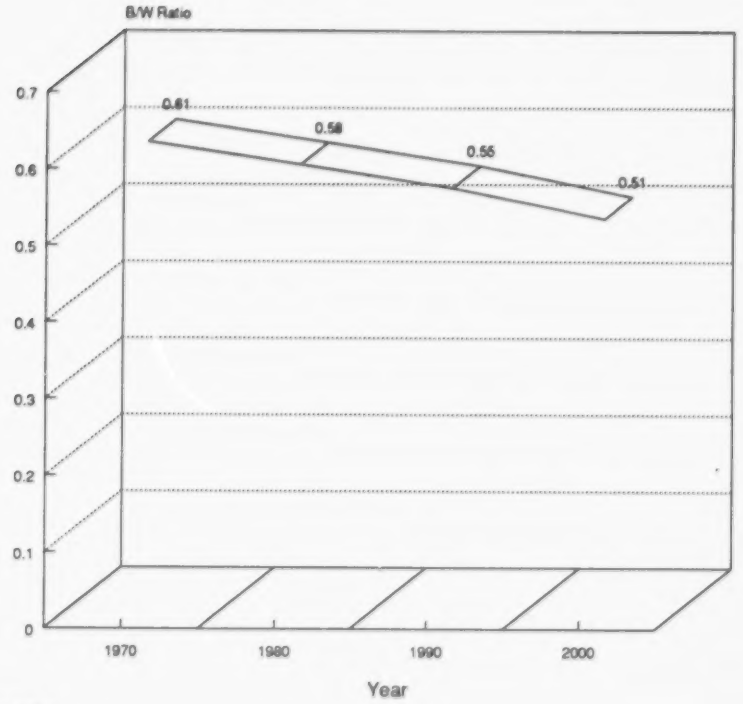
Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census.1977 Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises, Black. p. 11. 1982 Survey of Minority- Owned Business Enterprises, Black. p. 4.Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1985.Table no. 868.

Figure 6: Median Income
[constant $]



Source: Table 4

Figure 7: Median Income
B/W Ratio



Source: Table 4

TABLE 4:
FORECAST
INCOME DISTRIBUTION
1970-2000*
[in constant $]

	1970			1980			1990			2000		
	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W
7,500	19.8%	6.7%	2.96	22.3%	6.9%	3.23	25.1%	7.1%	3.52	28.3%	7.4%	3.83
$7,500-$14,999	25.3%	13.8%	1.83	25.0%	14.6%	1.71	25.2%	15.5%	1.63	25.7%	16.4%	1.57
$15,000-$24,999	25.6%	23.9%	1.07	22.6%	22.5%	1.00	20.0%	21.4%	.93	17.7%	20.7%	.85
$25,000-$49,999	25.3%	43.1%	.59	25.5%	41.4%	.62	26.0%	39.9%	.65	26.8%	38.7%	.69
≥$50,000	4.1%	12.5%	.33	4.8%	14.7%	.33	5.6%	17.3%	.33	6.6%	20.3%	.32
median	16,796	27,381	.61	15,976	27,611	.58	15,196	27,843	.55	14,454	28,077	.51

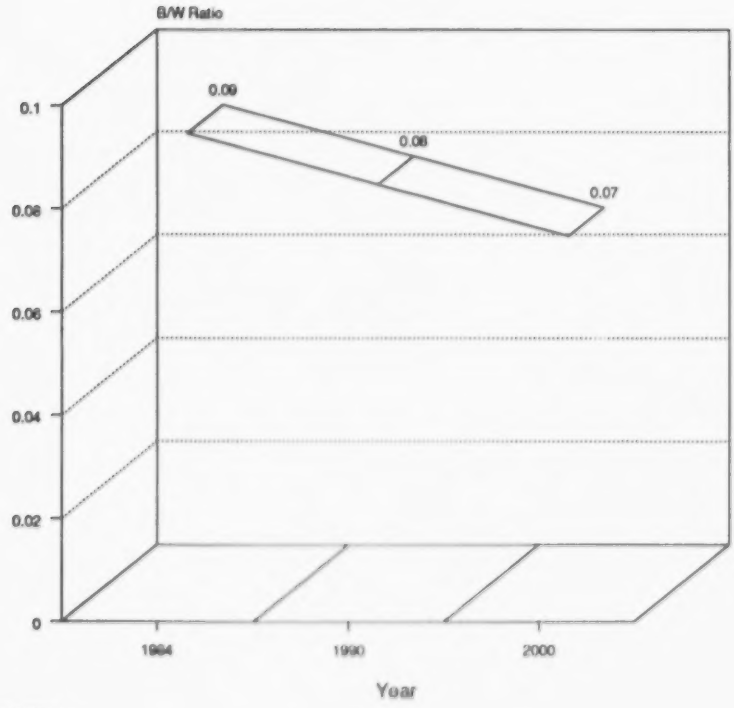
*1970 and 1980 actual; 1990 and 2000 forecasts.

Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census.Money Income of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States, 1984.Series P-60, no. 151.Table no. 11.

70

71

Figure 8: Median Net Worth
B/W Ratio



Source: Table 5

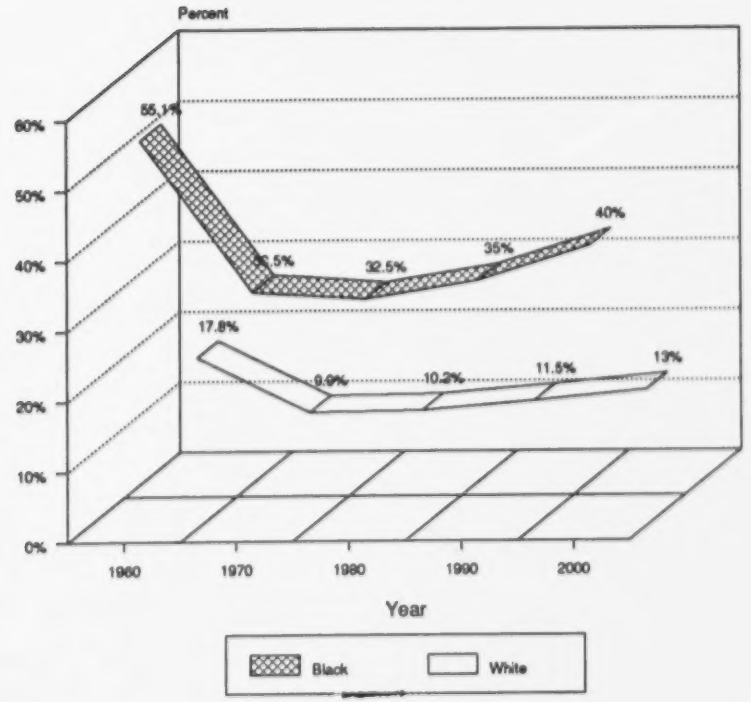
TABLE 5:
FORECAST
ASSETS ($MEDIANS)
1984-2000*

	1984			1990	2000
	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	B/W	B/W
net worth	3,397	39,135	.09	.08	.07
int-earn dep at fin inst	739	3,457	.21	.19	.17
othr int-earn	n.a.	9,826	.00	.00	.00
reg check accts	318	457	.70	.62	.54
stock/mut funds	2,777	3,908	.71	.63	55
equity in resdnc	24,077	41,999	.57	.51	45
rental prop	27,291	34,516	.79	.70	61
othr re equity	10,423	15,488	.67	.60	52
equity in bus/prof	2,054	7,113	.29	.26	22
equity in mot veh	2,691	4,293	.63	.56	49
u.s. sav bonds	200	305	.66	.58	51
ira/keogh	2,450	4,922	.50	.44	39
other	n.a.	13,089	.00	.00	00

*1984 actual; 1990 and 2000 forecasts.

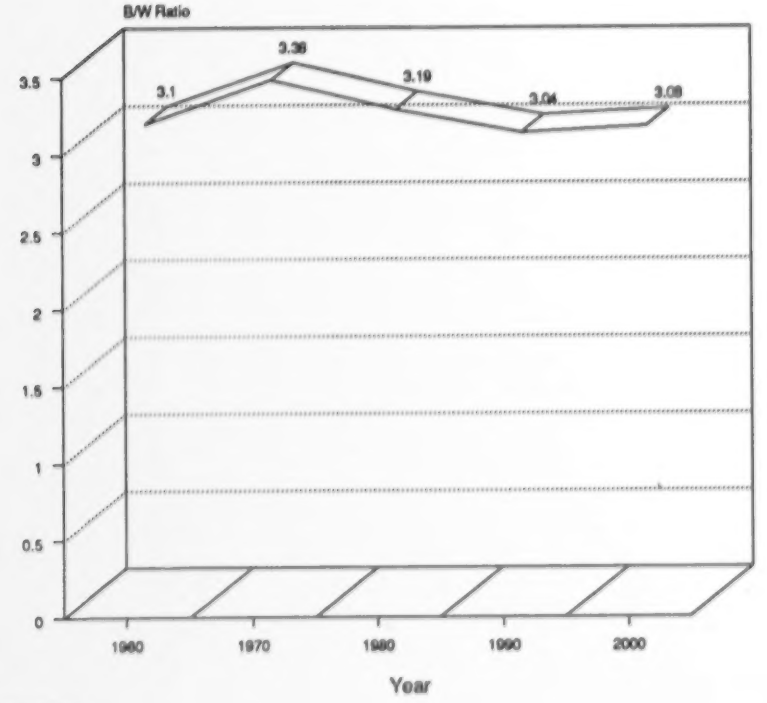
Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census. Household Wealth and Asset Ownership.Current Population Reports. Series P-70, no. 7. Table no. 5.

Figure 9: Poverty
[%]



Source: Table 6

Figure 10: Poverty
B/W Ratio



Source: Table 6

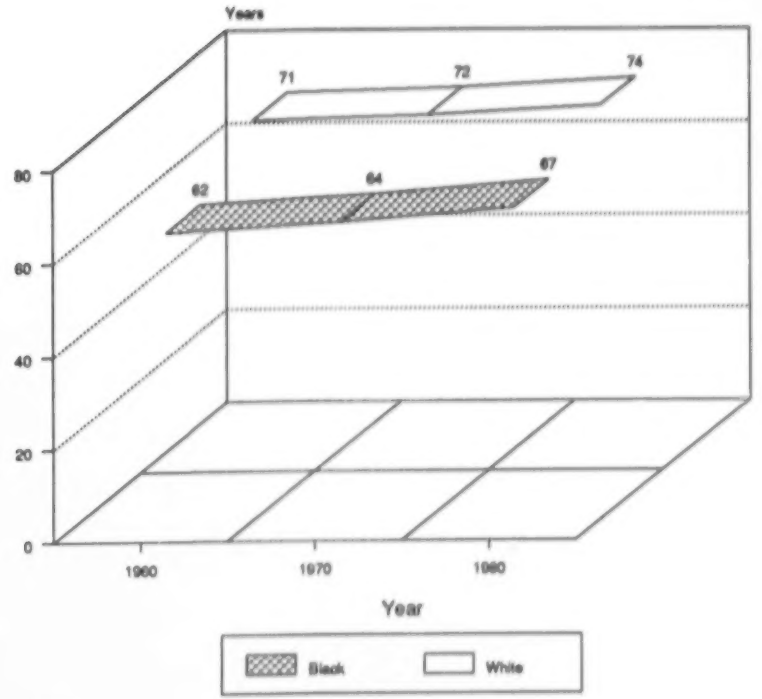
TABLE 6:
FORECAST
POVERTY
1960-2000*

	1960			1970			1980			1990			2000		
	no.	%	B/W	no.	%	B/W	no.	%	B/W	no.	%	B/W	no.	%	B/W
black	9,900	55.1%	3.10	7,548	33.5%	3.38	8,579	32.5%	3.19	11,000	35.0%	3.04	15,000	40.0%	3.08
white	28,309	17.8%		17,484	9.9%		19,699	10.2%		23,500	11.5%		26,000	13.0%	

*1960-1980 actual; 1990-2000 forecasts.

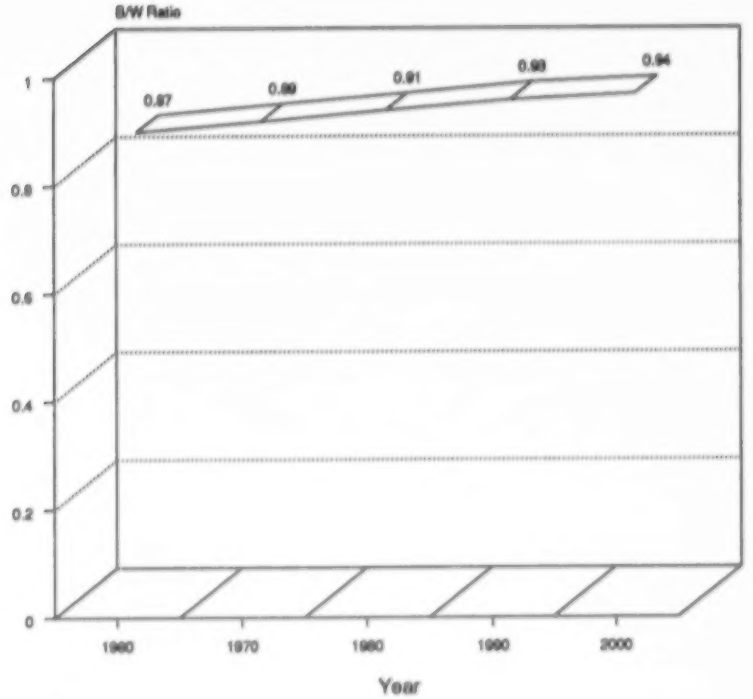
Source:U.S. Library of Congress.Congressional Research Service.Progress Against Poverty (1959-1985)and the Poverty Debate.Issue Brief no. 84013, by Thomas Gabe September 15, 1986. Washington, 1986.p. 5, 6, 8.

Figure 11: Life Expectancy
[years]



Source: Table 7

Figure 12: Life Expectancy
B/W Ratio



Source: Table 7

TABLE 7:
FORECAST
HEALTH STATUS
TOTAL [MALE/FEMALE]
1960-2000*

	1960			1970			1980			1990	2000
	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	B/W	B/W
TOTAL											
%hi bp**	36.8%	19.2%	1.92	36.6%	20.1%	1.82	27.7%	19.2%	1.44	1.14	.91
%hi-rsk ser chol**	22.1%	27.6%	.80	23.7%	23.2%	1.02	22.8%	21.9%	1.04	1.06	1.08
%overwt**	35.9%	26.4%	1.36	38.8%	26.8%	1.45	41.1%	27.2%	1.51	1.58	1.65
life expectancy(yrs)	62	71	.87	64	72	.89	67	74	.91	.93	.94
deaths/100,000	1,073	727	1.48	1,044	680	1.54	843	559	1.51	1.48	1.45
heart	335	282	1.19	308	249	1.23	256	198	1.29	1.36	1.42
malig neoplasms	142	124	1.15	157	128	1.23	172	130	1.33	1.44	1.56
accidents, etc.	66	48	1.39	74	51	1.46	51	42	1.23	1.04	.88
cerebrovascular	140	74	1.89	115	62	1.85	69	38	1.80	1.75	1.71
pneumonia/influenza	56	25	2.29	40	20	2.04	19	12	1.57	1.21	.94
suicide	5	11	.42	6	12	.49	6	12	.53	.57	.61
chronic liver	12	10	1.14	25	13	1.85	22	11	1.96	2.08	2.21
diabetes mellitus	22	12	1.83	27	13	2.05	20	9	2.23	2.42	2.63
atherosclerosis	14	13	1.08	9	8	1.05	6	6	1.14	1.25	1.36

*1960-1980 actual; 1990-2000 forecasts.
**age adjusted

Source:U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.Public Health Service. National Center for Health Statistics.Health United States, 1986 and Prevention Profile.Tables 45-7.
U.S Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census.Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986.Table no. 115.

TABLE 8:
FORECAST
HEALTH STATUS
MALE
1960-2000*

	1960			1970			1980			1990	2000
	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	B/W	B/W
MALE											
%hi bp**	36.3%	19.0%	1.91	35.8%	21.7%	1.65	29.7%	22.3%	1.33	1.08	.87
%hi-rsk ser chol**	17.1%	25.1%	.68	22.7%	22.0%	1.03	23.4%	20.1%	1.16	1.31	1.48
%overwt**	24.1%	25.1%	.96	27.6%	26.0%	1.06	30.9%	26.7%	1.16	1.26	1.38
life expectancy(yrs)	59	67	.88	60	68	.88	63	71	.90	.92	.94
deaths/100,000	1,246	918	1.36	1,319	893	1.48	1,113	745	1.49	1.51	1.53
heart	381	375	1.02	376	348	1.08	327	278	1.18	1.29	1.40
malig neoplasms	159	142	1.12	198	154	1.28	230	161	1.43	1.60	1.78
accidents, etc.	100	71	1.42	120	76	1.57	82	62	1.32	1.10	.93
cerebrovascular	141	80	1.76	123	69	1.78	78	42	1.85	1.92	2.00
pneumonia/influenza	70	31	2.26	54	26	2.07	28	16	1.73	1.44	1.21
suicide	8	18	.45	10	18	.54	11	19	.59	.63	.68
chronic liver	15	14	1.03	33	19	1.76	31	16	1.95	2.16	2.39
diabetes mellitus	16	12	1.40	21	13	1.67	18	10	1.86	2.08	2.32
atherosclerosis	16	15	1.08	10	10	1.02	8	7	1.15	1.30	1.47

*1960-1980 actual; 1990-2000 forecasts.
**age adjusted

Source:See TABLE 7.

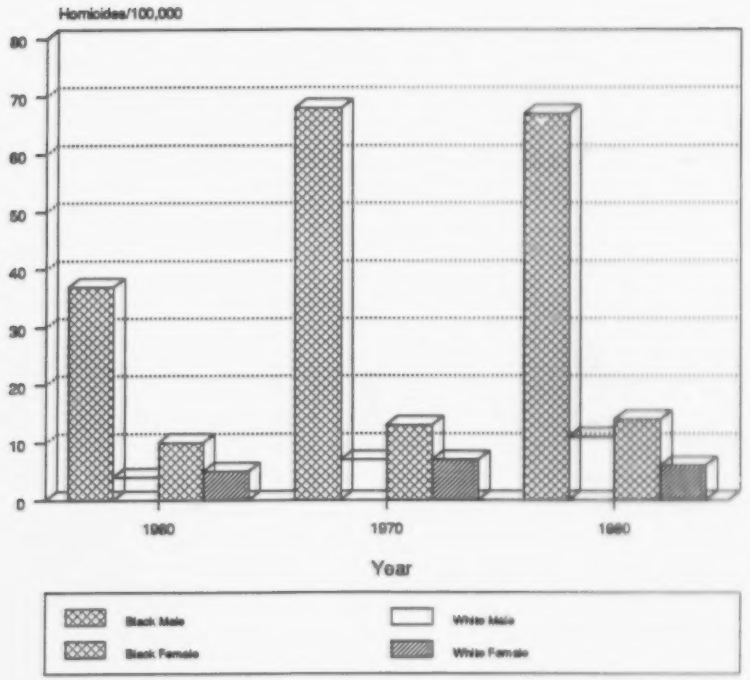
TABLE 9:
FORECAST
HEALTH STATUS
FEMALE
1960-2000*

	1960			1970			1980			1990	2000
	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	B/W	B/W
FEMALE											
%hi bp**	37.7%	19.2%	1.96	37.4%	18.5%	2.02	26.2%	16.3%	1.61	1.28	1.02
%hi-rsk ser chol**	26.8%	29.7%	.90	24.6%	23.9%	1.03	22.3%	23.4%	.95	.88	.82
%overwt**	47.3%	27.3%	1.73	47.8%	27.4%	1.74	49.5%	27.5%	1.80	1.86	1.92
life expectancy(yrs)	65	74	.87	67	76	.89	71	78	.91	.94	.96
deaths/100,000	917	555	1.65	814	502	1.62	631	411	1.54	1.45	1.37
heart	293	197	1.48	252	168	1.50	201	135	1.49	1.49	1.48
malig neoplasms	128	110	1.17	124	108	1.15	130	108	1.20	1.26	1.33
accidents, etc.	36	25	1.41	35	27	1.30	25	21	1.17	1.06	.96
cerebrovascular	140	69	2.03	108	56	1.92	62	35	1.75	1.60	1.46
pneumonia/influenza	44	19	2.31	29	15	1.95	13	9	1.35	.94	.65
suicide	2	5	.36	3	7	.40	2	6	.42	.44	.46
chronic liver	9	7	1.35	18	9	2.05	14	7	2.06	2.07	2.08
diabetes mellitus	27	14	1.99	31	13	2.41	22	9	2.54	2.67	2.81
atherosclerosis	13	12	1.08	8	8	1.07	6	5	1.12	1.18	1.23

*1960-1980 actual; 1990-2000 forecasts.
**age adjusted

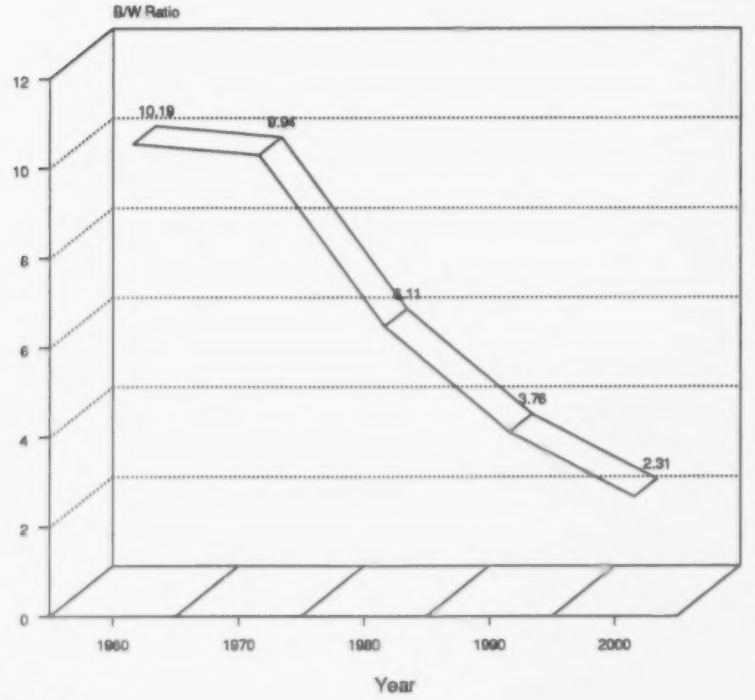
Source:See TABLE 7.

Figure 13: Homicide
[per 100,000]



Source: Table 10

Figure 14: Homicide
B/W Ratio



Source: Table 10

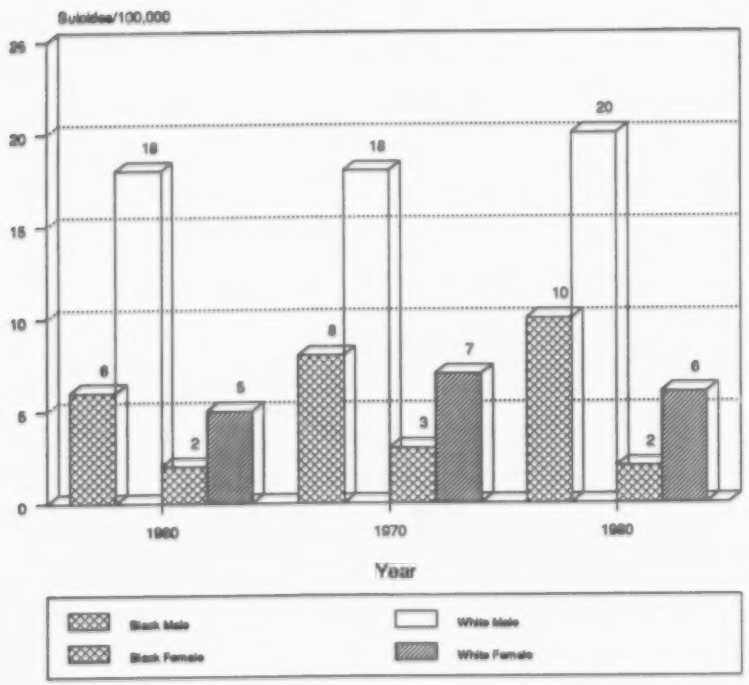
TABLE 10:
FORECAST
ACCIDENTAL AND VIOLENT DEATH
1960-2000*

	1960			1970			1980			1990	2000
	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	B/W	B/W
MALE	137	91	1.50	183	102	1.80	154	97	1.59	1.40	1.23
motor vehicle	33	32	1.05	44	39	1.13	31	36	.87	.66	.51
other acc	61	39	1.58	63	38	1.66	46	30	1.51	1.38	1.26
suicide	6	18	.36	8	18	.44	10	20	.52	.60	.70
homicide	37	4	10.19	68	7	9.94	67	11	6.11	3.76	2.31
15-24 yrs	144	105	1.37	234	131	1.79	162	139	1.17	.76	.50
25-44 yrs	206	89	2.32	301	107	2.81	242	108	2.23	1.77	1.41
45-64 yrs	188	119	1.59	250	121	2.06	199	92	2.17	2.29	2.42
≥65 yrs	190	224	.85	220	217	1.01	216	164	1.32	1.71	2.22
FEMALE	51	38	1.33	52	42	1.22	43	36	1.17	1.13	1.09
motor vehicle	10	11	.87	13	15	.91	8	13	.65	.46	.33
other acc	29	20	1.43	23	18	1.23	19	14	1.29	1.36	1.43
suicide	2	5	.30	3	7	.37	2	6	.37	.38	.39
homicide	10	1	7.43	13	2	6.33	14	3	4.22	2.81	1.87
15-24 yrs	32	24	1.34	46	35	1.30	35	37	.94	.68	.49
25-44 yrs	52	24	2.15	61	34	1.80	47	29	1.61	1.44	1.29
45-64 yrs	55	38	1.45	56	45	1.25	43	33	1.32	1.40	1.47
≥65 yrs	114	149	.76	108	122	.88	103	87	1.18	1.58	2.11

*1960-1980 actual; 1990-2000 forecasts.

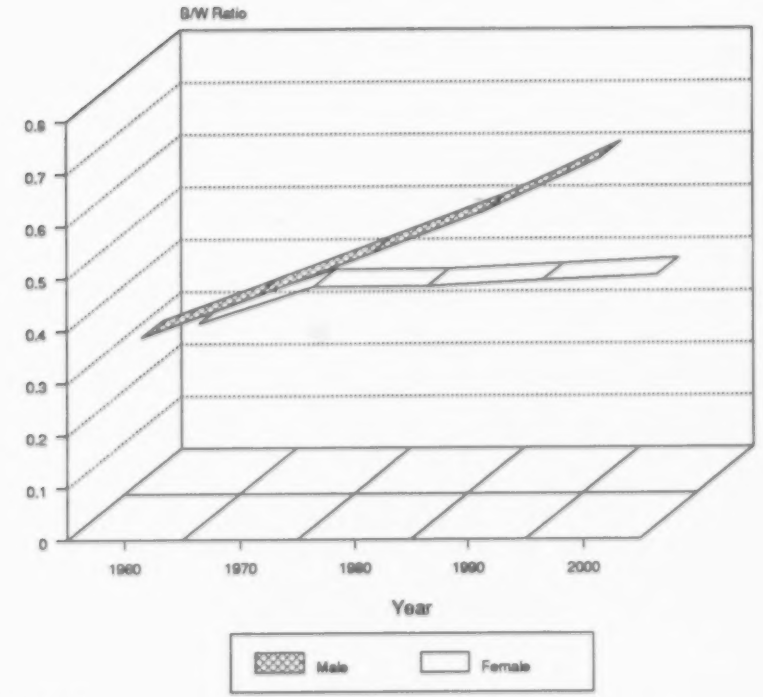
Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census.Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986.Table no. 119.

Figure 15: Suicide
[per 100,000]



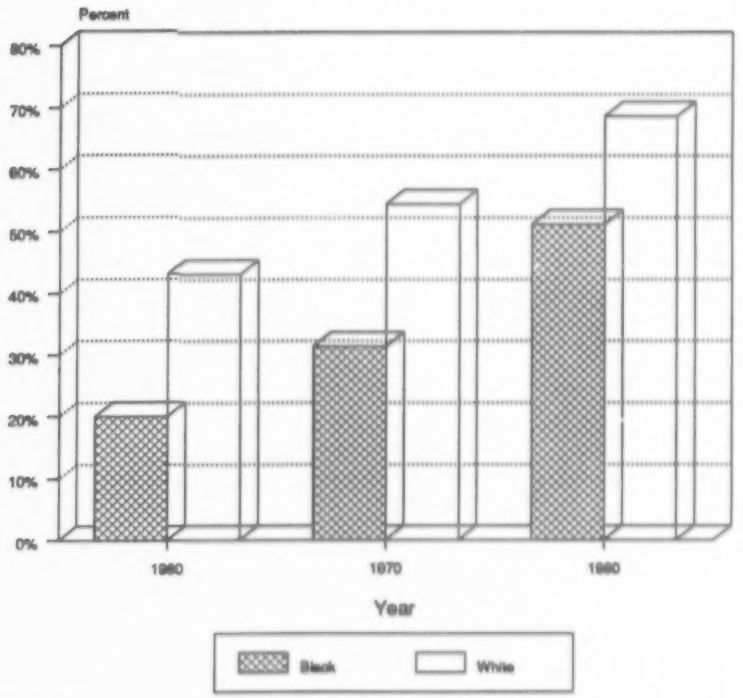
Source: Table 10

Figure 16: Suicide
B/W Ratio



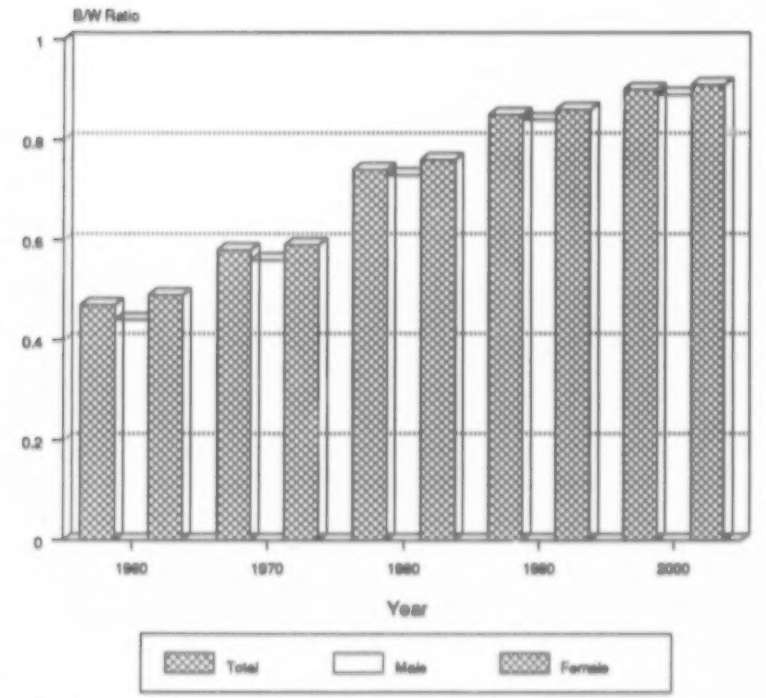
Source: Table 10

Figure 17: High School Graduates
[%]



Source: Table 11

Figure 18: High School Graduates
B/W Ratio



Source: Table 11

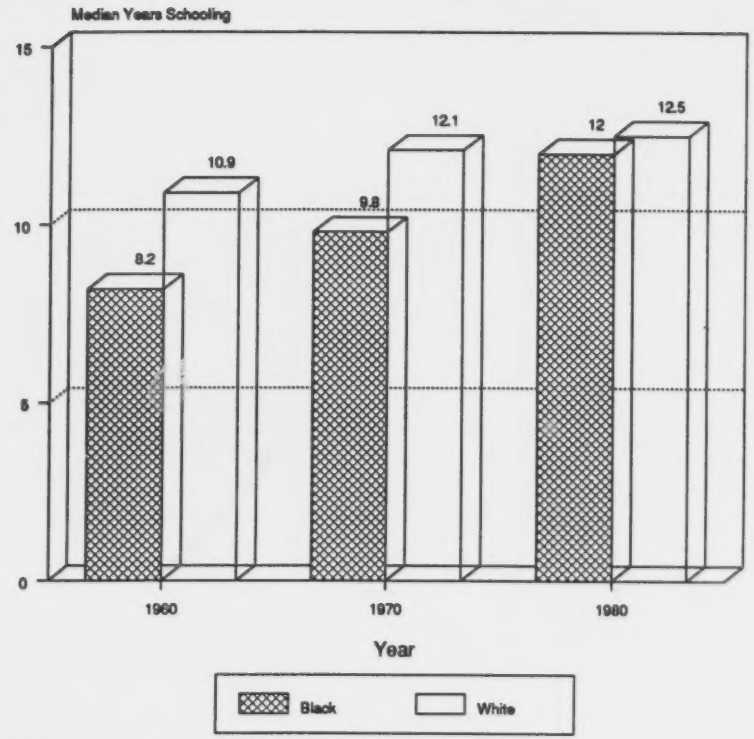
TABLE 11:
FORECAST
EDUCATION AND LITERACY
1960-2000*

	1960			1970			1980			1990	2000
	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	B/W	B/W
TOTAL											
% hs grads	20.1%	43.2%	.47	31.4%	54.5%	.58	51.2%	68.8%	.74	.85	.90
med yrs school	8.2	10.9	.75	9.8	12.1	.81	12.0	12.5	.96	.97	.98
illiteracy(% =14)	7.5%	1.6%	4.69	3.6%	.7%	5.14	1.6%	.4%	4.00	4.00	4.00
14-24	1.2%	.5%	2.40	.5%	.2%	2.50	.2%	.2%	1.00	1.00	1.00
25-44	5.1%	.8%	6.38	1.3%	.4%	3.25	.5%	.2%	2.50	1.50	1.50
45-64	11.3%	1.8%	6.28	5.5%	.7%	7.86	2.6%	.5%	5.20	3.50	2.50
=65	25.5%	5.1%	5.00	16.7%	2.3%	7.26	6.8%	.8%	8.50	8.50	7.00
MALE											
% hs grads	18.2%	41.6%	.44	30.1%	54.0%	.56	50.8%	69.6%	.73	.84	.89
med yrs school	7.7	10.7	.72	9.4	12.1	.78	12.0	12.6	.95	.96	.97
illiteracy(% =14)	9.8%	1.7%	5.76	4.3%	.7%	6.14	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
14-24	1.7%	.7%	2.43	.6%	.3%	2.00	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
25-44	7.1%	1.0%	7.10	2.1%	.4%	5.25	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
45-64	15.6%	2.0%	7.80	7.4%	.8%	9.25	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
≥65	28.3%	5.3%	5.34	17.2%	2.1%	8.19	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
FEMALE											
% hs grads	21.8%	44.7%	.49	32.5%	55.0%	.59	51.5%	68.1%	.76	.86	.91
med yrs school	8.4	11.2	.75	10.1	12.1	.83	12.0	12.5	.96	.97	.98
illiteracy(% =14)	5.4%	1.4%	3.86	2.9%	.7%	4.14	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
14-24	.7%	.3%	2.33	.3%	.2%	1.50	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
25-44	3.4%	.6%	5.67	.6%	.5%	1.20	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
45-64	7.3%	1.6%	4.56	4.0%	.6%	6.67	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
≥65	23.0%	5.0%	4.60	16.2%	2.4%	6.75	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

*1960-1980 actual; 1990-2000 forecasts.

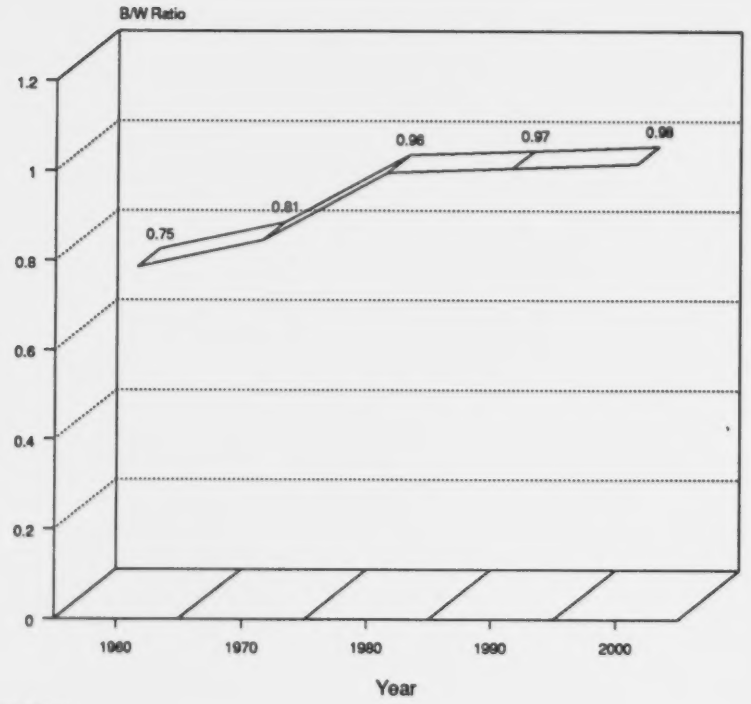
Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census.Census of Population, 1980.Table no. 83.Statistical Abstract of the United States:1982-1983.Table no. 229.

Figure 19: Median Years Schooling



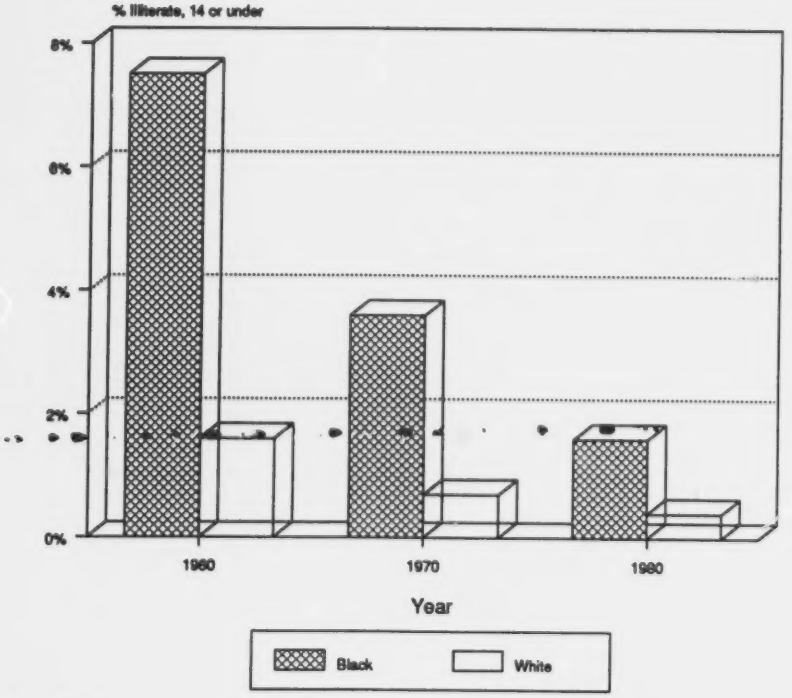
Source: Table 11

Figure 20: Median Years Schooling
B/W Ratio



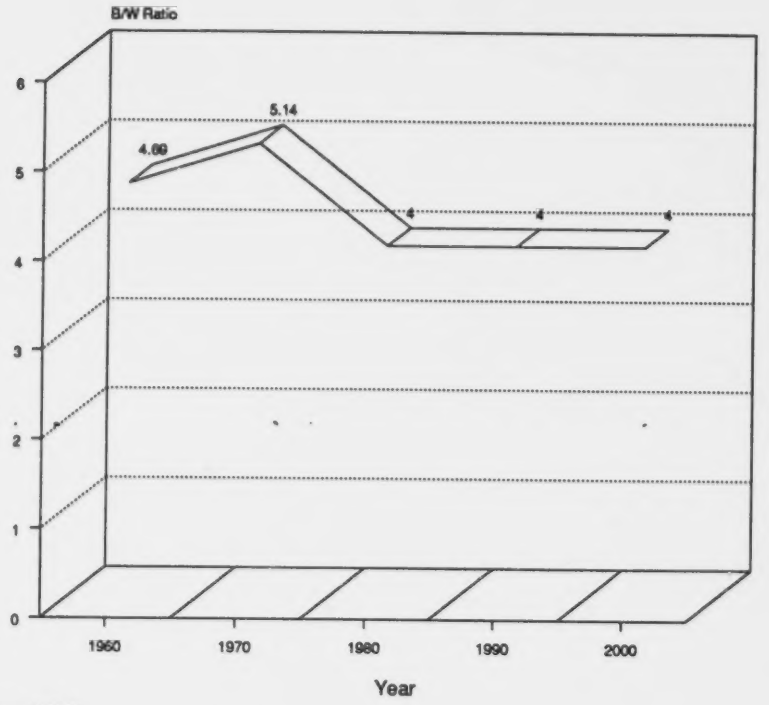
Source: Table 11

Figure 21: Illiteracy
[%]



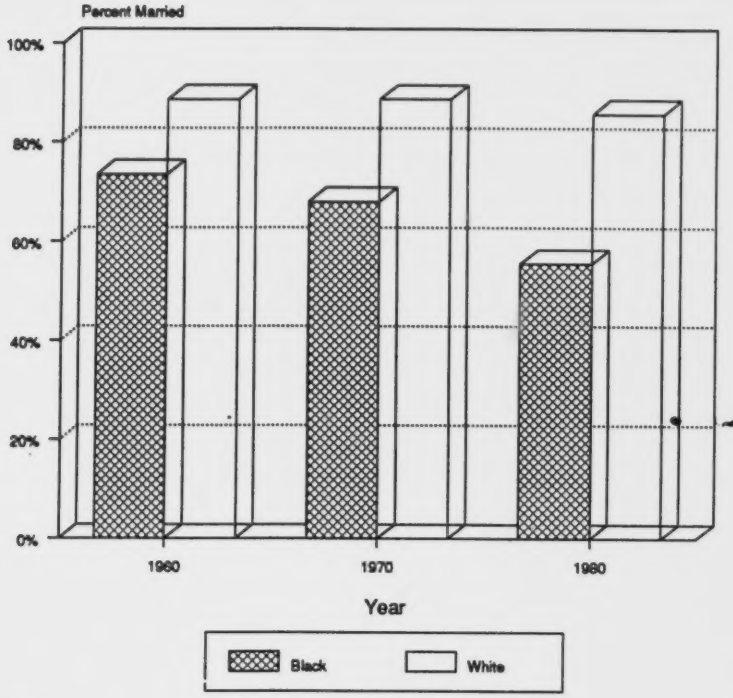
Source: Table 11

Figure 22: Illiteracy
B/W Ratio



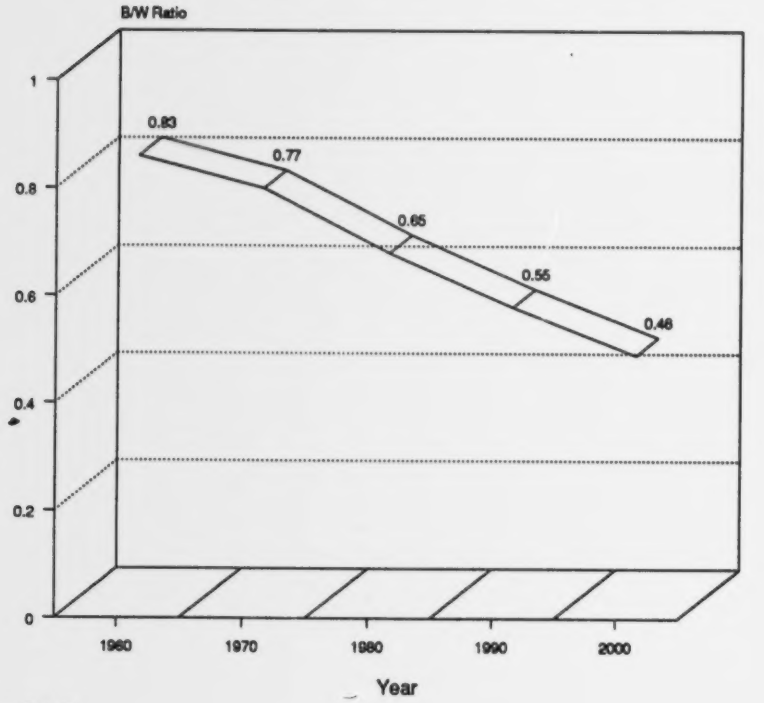
Source: Table 11

Figure 23: Married Couple Families
[%]



Source: Table 12

Figure 24: Married Couple Families
B/W Ratio



Source: Table 12

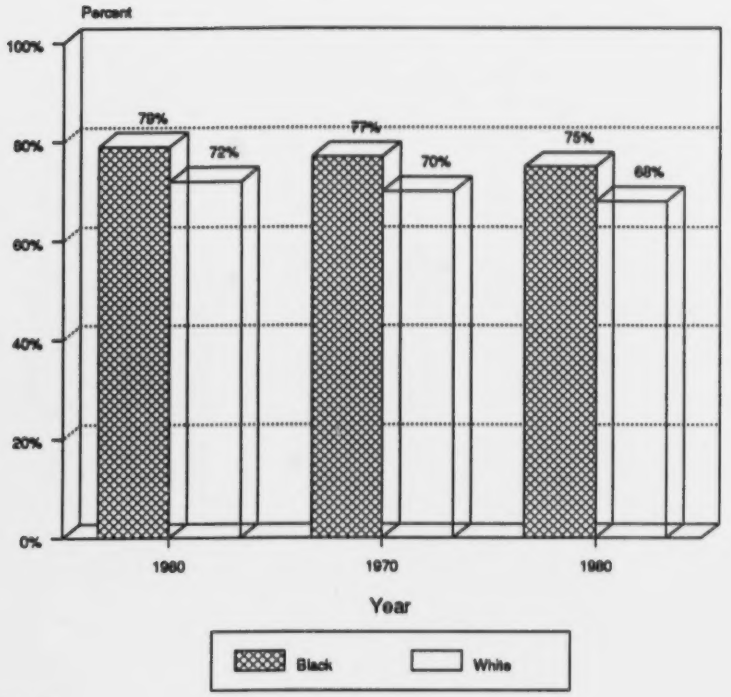
TABLE 12:
FORECAST
COMMUNITY AND FAMILY LIFE
1960-2000*

	1960			1970			1980			1990	2000
	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	B/W	B/W
% married											
men	68.0%	77.0%	.88	67.0%	76.0%	.88	55.0%	70.0%	.79	.70	.62
women	66.0%	72.0%	.92	62.0%	69.0%	.90	49.0%	65.0%	.75	.63	.53
% divorced											
men	2.0%	2.0%	1.00	4.0%	2.0%	2.00	7.0%	5.0%	1.40	.98	.69
women	5.0%	3.0%	1.67	5.0%	4.0%	1.25	10.0%	7.0%	1.43	1.63	1.87
tot families	100.0%	100.0%	1.00	100.0%	100.0%	1.00	100.0%	100.0%	1.00	1.00	1.00
married couple	73.5%	88.6%	.83	68.0%	88.7%	.77	55.5%	85.7%	.65	.55	.46
male householder	4.1%	2.7%	1.53	3.7%	2.3%	1.64	4.1%	2.8%	1.50	1.37	1.25
female householder	22.4%	8.7%	2.57	28.3%	9.0%	3.14	40.3%	11.6%	3.48	3.86	4.28
% church membership	79.0%	72.0%	1.10	77.0%	70.0%	1.10	75.0%	68.0%	1.10	1.11	1.11
suicide											
male/100,000	6.4	17.6	.36	8.0	18.0	.44	10.3	19.9	.52	.60	.70
female/100,000	1.6	5.3	.30	2.6	7.1	.37	2.2	5.9	.37	.38	.39
homicide											
male/100,000	36.7	3.6	10.19	67.6	6.8	9.94	66.6	10.9	6.11	3.76	2.31
female/100,000	10.4	1.4	7.43	13.3	2.1	6.33	13.5	3.2	4.22	2.81	1.87

*1960-1980 actual; 1990-2000 forecasts.

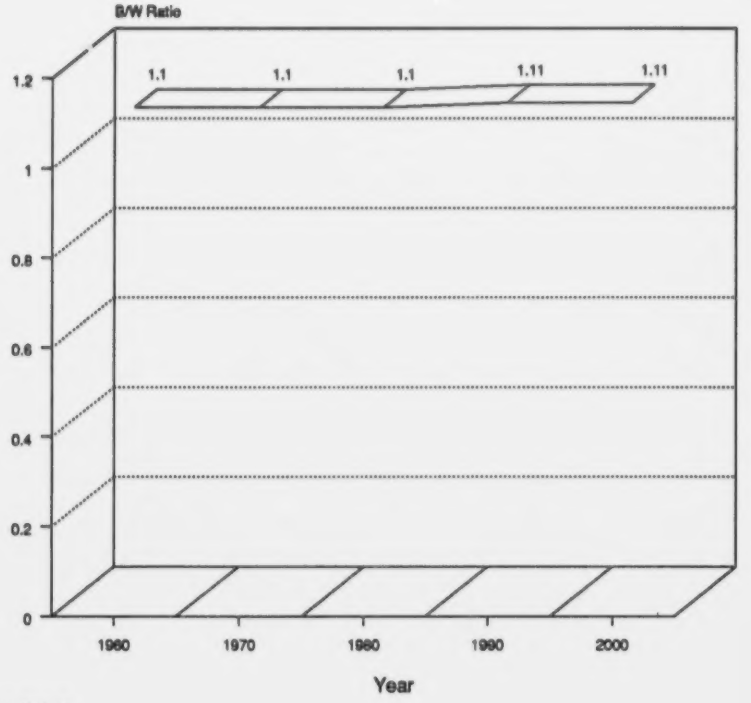
Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census.Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986.Tables no. 44, 57, 119.The Gallup Poll.Press release.January 15, 1987.

Figure 25: Church Membership
[%]



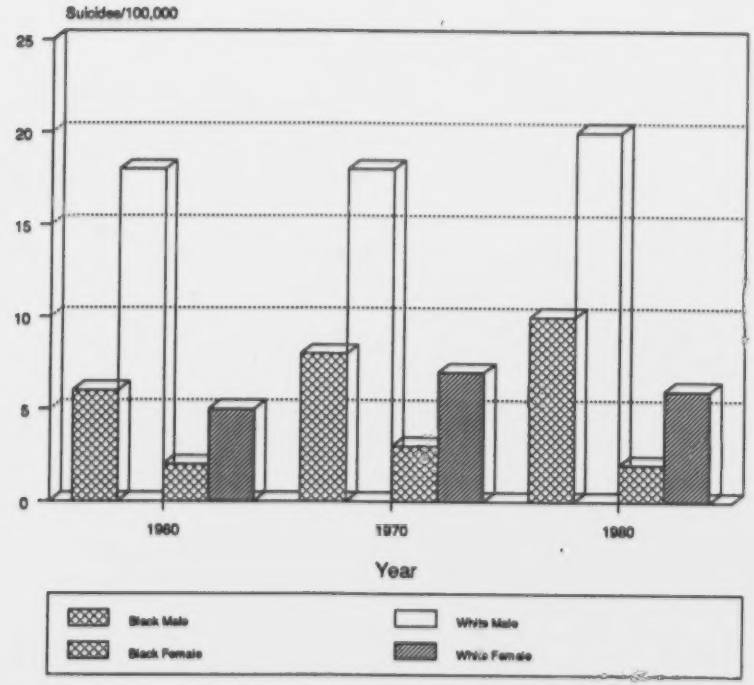
Source: Table 12

Figure 26: Church Membership
B/W Ratio



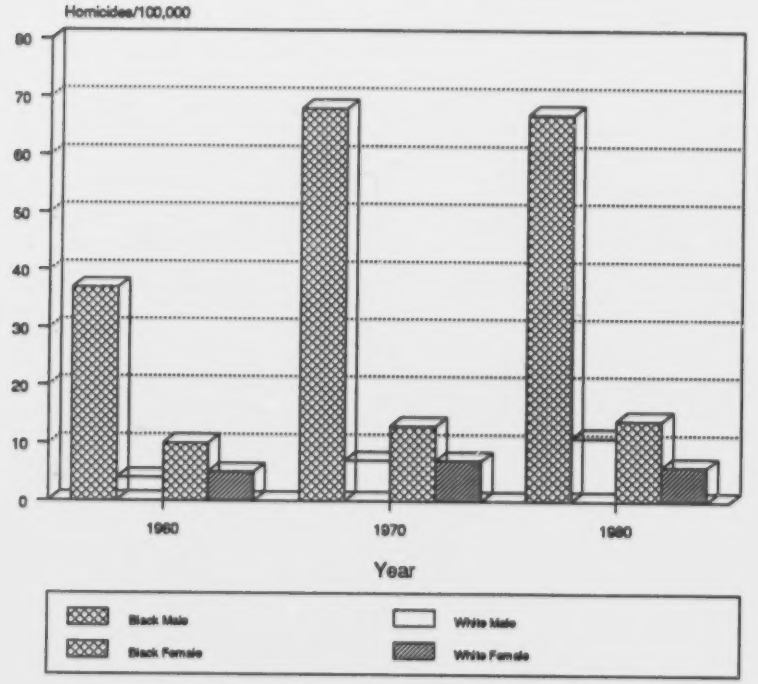
Source: Table 12

Figure 27: Suicide
[per 100,000]



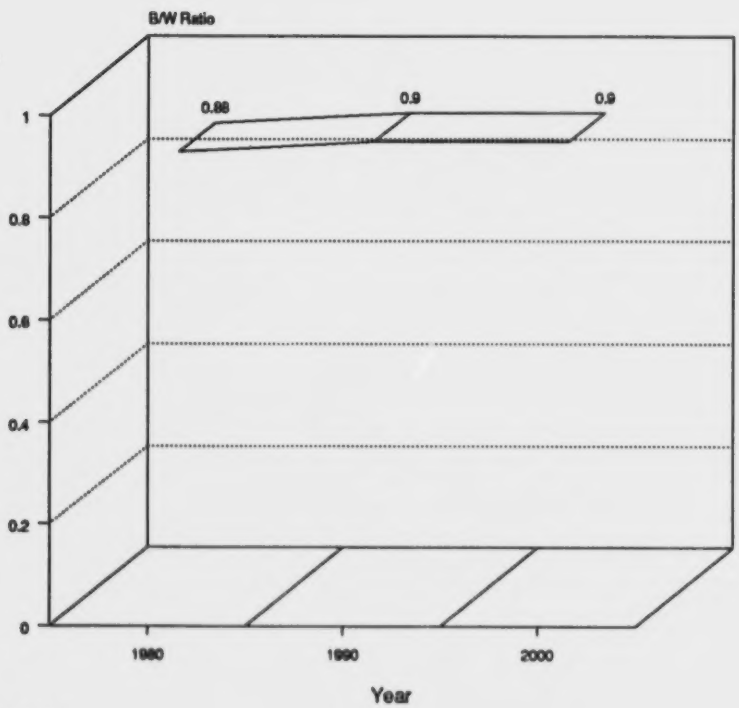
Source: Table 10

Figure 28: Homicide
[per 100,000]



Source: Table 10

Figure 29: Percent Voting
B/W Ratio



Source: Table 13

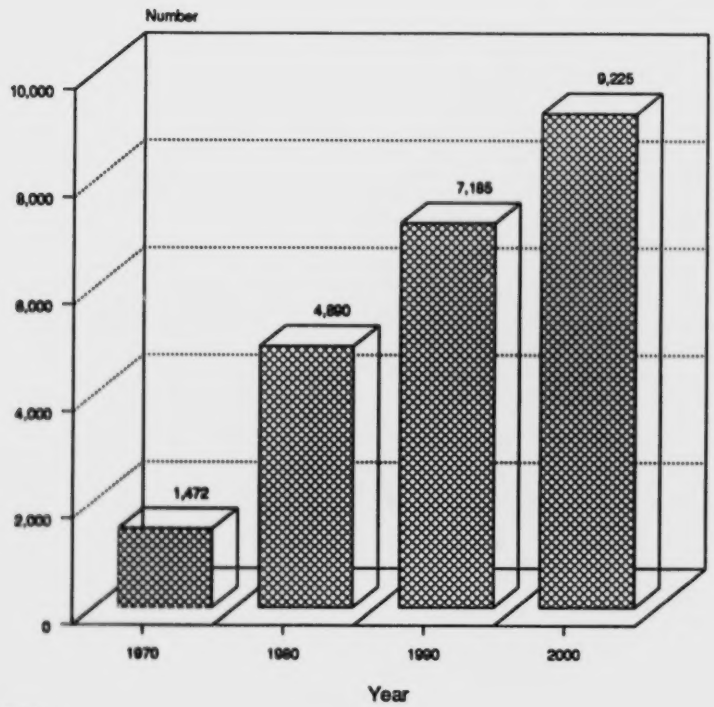
TABLE 13:
FORECAST
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
VOTING
1970-2000*

	1970	1980			1990	2000
	BLACK	BLACK	WHITE	B/W	B/W	B/W
voting age pop	14,000	16,400	137,700			
% reporting regis	65.5%	60.0%	68.4%	.88	.90	.90
% reporting vote	52.1%	50.5%	60.9%	.83	.85	.85
productivity(vt/rg)	79.5%	84.2%	89.0%	.95	1.00	1.10

*1970 and 1980 actual; 1990 and 2000 forecasts.

Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986.Table no. 434.

Figure 30: Total Black
Political Officials



Source: Table 14

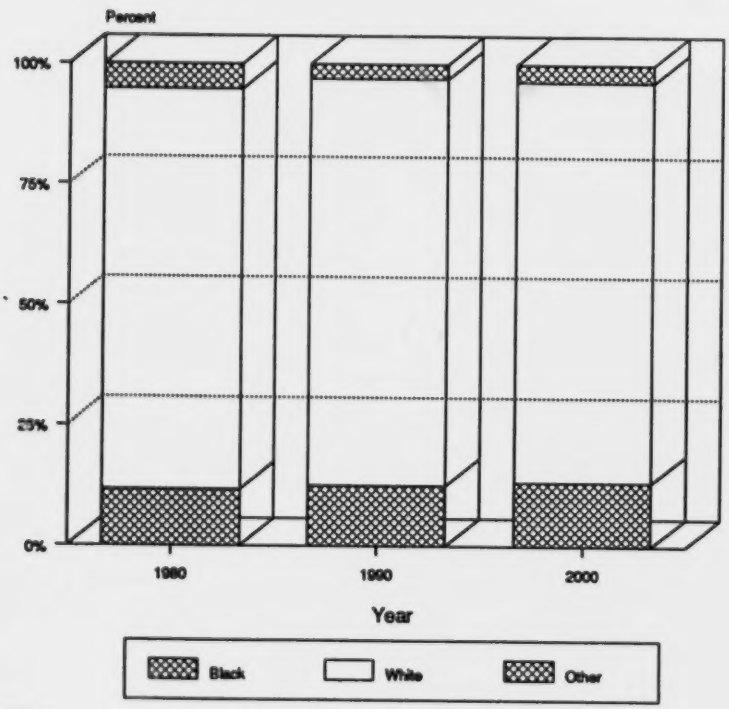
TABLE 14:
FORECAST
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
OFFICE HOLDING
1970-2000*

	1970	1980		1990		2000
	BLACK	BLACK	%INCRS	BLACK	%INCRS	BLACK	%INCRS
total	1,472	4,890	69.9%	7,185	46.9%	9,225	28.4%
US/state legis	182	326	44.2%	391	20.0%	430	10.0%
city/county	715	2,832	74.8%	4,248	50.0%	5,522	30.0%
law enforcement	213	526	59.5%	736	40.0%	921	25.0%
education	362	1,206	70.0%	1,809	50.0%	2,352	30.0%

*1970 and 1980 actual; 1990 and 2000 forecasts.

Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986.Table 428.

Figure 31: Population by Race
[%]



Source: Table 15

TABLE 15:
FORECAST
POPULATION
MIDDLE SERIES CENSUS PROJECTIONS
1980-2000*

	1980			1990			2000		
	%BLACK	%WHITE	B/W	%BLACK	%WHITE	B/W	%BLACK	%WHITE	B/W
TOTAL	11.7%	83.1%	.14	12.6%	84.4%	.15	13.3%	83.1%	.16
Sex									
male	47.3%	48.7%	.97	47.5%	48.9%	.97	47.7%	48.9%	.97
female	52.7%	51.3%	1.03	52.5%	51.1%	1.03	52.3%	51.1%	1.02
Age									
under 5 yrs	9.2%	6.7%	1.37	10.2%	7.3%	1.40	8.6%	6.2%	1.39
5 to 9 yrs	9.4%	6.9%	1.36	9.8%	7.1%	1.38	8.9%	6.7%	1.33
10 to 14 yrs	10.1%	7.7%	1.31	8.0%	6.5%	1.23	9.1%	7.0%	1.30
15 to 19 yrs	11.3%	9.0%	1.25	8.1%	6.6%	1.23	8.7%	6.8%	1.28
20 to 24 yrs	10.3%	9.2%	1.12	8.7%	7.2%	1.20	7.2%	6.2%	1.15
25 to 29 yrs	8.8%	8.5%	1.03	9.7%	8.5%	1.14	7.2%	6.3%	1.14
30 to 34 yrs	7.1%	7.8%	.92	9.0%	8.8%	1.03	7.7%	7.0%	1.10
35 to 39 yrs	5.5%	6.2%	.88	7.6%	8.0%	.94	8.5%	8.1%	1.05
40 to 44 yrs	4.7%	5.2%	.91	6.1%	7.3%	.84	7.8%	8.3%	.94
45 to 49 yrs	4.3%	5.0%	.86	4.6%	5.7%	.80	6.5%	7.5%	.86
50 to 54 yrs	4.3%	5.4%	.79	3.8%	4.7%	.81	5.1%	6.7%	.76
55 to 59 yrs	3.9%	5.4%	.72	3.3%	4.3%	.76	3.7%	5.2%	.71
60 to 64 yrs	3.3%	4.8%	.69	3.1%	4.5%	.69	2.9%	4.1%	.71
65 to 69 yrs	2.9%	4.1%	.71	2.7%	4.3%	.62	2.4%	3.6%	.67
70 to 74 yrs	2.1%	3.2%	.66	2.0%	3.4%	.59	2.1%	3.4%	.60
75 to 79 yrs	1.5%	2.3%	.64	1.7%	2.7%	.62	1.6%	2.9%	.55
80 to 84 yrs	.8%	1.4%	.53	1.0%	1.8%	.59	1.1%	2.0%	.54
85 yrs and over	.6%	1.1%	.55	9.4%	14.8%	.64	9.0%	14.0%	.64
median age			.80			.82			.81
mean age						.84			.84

*1980 actual; 1990 and 2000 forecasts.
Source:U.S. Department of Commerce.Bureau of the Census.Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986.Table no. 26.

C.0 APPENDIX C: CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS

TABLE 16:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS
OCCURRENCE PROBABILITY MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event occurs,		Initial probability by 2000	The probability of this event becomes...				
			1	2	3	4	5
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.30	n.a	.17	.98	.40	.30
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.10	.90	n.a	.84	.30	.50
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	.70	.75	.20	n.a	.50	.25
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.20	.42	.12	.84	n.a	.30
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.10	.45	.20	.77	.30	n.a
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	.80	.30	.10	.70	.14	.10
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	.50	.30	.10	.77	.20	.10
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	.80	.36	.12	.84	.24	.12
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	.90	.36	.11	.77	.22	.11
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.40	.36	.13	.84	.26	.12
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.30	.30	.11	.84	.24	.12
12.	Voting participation is equalized	.60	.36	.13	.84	.24	.13
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	.50	.36	.14	.77	.28	.12
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	.70	.36	.13	.84	.24	.12
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	.60	.39	.12	.84	.24	.12
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	.50	.45	.15	.75	.28	.14
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	.80	.18	.04	.63	.04	.02
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	.50	.42	.12	.77	.30	.15
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.30	.12	.04	.21	.06	.02
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.10	.42	.12	.77	.30	.15
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.30	.03	.01	.07	.02	.01
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	.70	.39	.13	.91	.26	.13

84 **TABLE 16 CONTINUED:**
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS
OCCURRENCE PROBABILITY MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event occurs,	Initial probability by 2000	The probability of this event becomes...				
			6	7	8	9	10
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.30	.96	.45	.96	.90	.48
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.10	.96	.65	.96	.99	.52
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	.70	.88	.65	.88	.95	.80
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.20	.88	.85	.84	.95	.80
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.10	.88	.70	.88	.95	.80
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	.80	n.a	.60	.80	.90	.40
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	.50	.88	n.a	.80	.90	.40
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	.80	.84	.58	n.a	.95	.42
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	.90	.86	.54	.84	n.a	.43
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.40	.96	.60	.88	.95	n.a
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.30	.88	.55	.96	.95	.48
12.	Voting participation is equalized	.60	.92	.60	.88	.90	.48
13	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	.50	.88	.55	.88	.95	.44
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	.70	.92	.52	.84	.95	.48
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	.60	.96	.60	.92	.91	.60
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	.50	.88	.65	.96	.92	.48
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	.80	.80	.38	.76	.87	.28
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	.50	.64	.35	.64	.90	.28
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.30	.80	.40	.40	.68	.32
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.10	.80	.50	.88	.99	.40
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.30	.08	.05	.34	.68	.04
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	.70	.96	.60	.96	.94	.56

TABLE 16 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS
OCCURRENCE PROBABILITY MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event occurs,	Initial probability by 2000	The probability of this event becomes...				
			11	12	13	14	15
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.30	.30	.90	.75	.70	.54
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.10	.30	.78	.75	.70	.72
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	.70	.30	.72	.65	.84	.66
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.20	.60	.72	.75	.70	.72
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.10	.36	.72	.70	.84	.78
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	.80	.30	.72	.60	.70	.72
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	.50	.30	.60	.50	.70	.60
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	.80	.33	.63	.60	.70	.54
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	.90	.32	.66	.54	.74	.65
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.40	.36	.72	.55	.84	.84
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.30	n.a	.72	.65	.33	.78
12.	Voting participation is equalized	.60	.36	n.a	.70	.84	.66
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	.50	.33	.78	n.a	.70	.66
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	.70	.36	.78	.65	n.a	.78
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	.60	.39	.78	.65	.91	n.a
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	.50	.33	.78	.65	.84	.60
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	.80	.15	.54	.45	.63	.72
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	.50	.15	.48	.40	.49	.84
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.30	.30	.24	.20	.70	.48
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.10	.30	.84	.70	.84	.48
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.30	.03	.06	.05	.07	.07
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	.70	.39	.72	.60	.84	.84

TABLE 16 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS
OCCURRENCE PROBABILITY MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event occurs,	Initial probability by 2000	The probability of this event becomes...				
			16	17	18	19	20
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.30	.45	.80	.50	.36	.12
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.10	.60	.56	.50	.36	.08
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	.70	.60	.64	.45	.36	.08
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.20	.60	.56	.45	.36	.08
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.10	.60	.56	.40	.36	.07
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	.80	.50	.80	.50	.30	.10
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	.50	.50	.80	.50	.30	.10
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	.80	.60	.80	.50	.27	.09
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	.90	.54	.80	.45	.27	.09
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.40	.50	.72	.50	.30	.10
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.30	.50	.64	.45	.24	.08
12.	Voting participation is equalized	.60	.50	.72	.45	.27	.09
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	.50	.50	.80	.45	.36	.08
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	.70	.45	.80	.50	.36	.09
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	.60	.60	.72	.45	.24	.08
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	.50	n.a	.72	.45	.24	.08
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	.80	.40	n.a	.55	.33	.12
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	.50	.40	.64	n.a	.45	.03
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.30	.20	.88	.70	n.a	.08
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.10	.65	.56	.75	.24	n.a
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.30	.05	.34	.75	.54	.09
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	.70	.60	.64	.35	.15	.04

TABLE 16 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS
OCCURRENCE PROBABILITY MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event occurs,	Initial probability by 2000	The probability of this event becomes...	
			21	22
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.30	.30	.84
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.10	.30	.84
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	.70	.30	.84
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.20	.30	.91
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.10	.30	.91
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	.80	.30	.70
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	.50	.30	.77
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	.80	.27	.77
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	.90	.27	.77
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.40	.30	.77
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.30	.27	.84
12.	Voting participation is equalized	.60	.27	.84
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	.50	.30	.77
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	.70	.30	.77
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	.60	.24	.84
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	.50	.27	.81
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	.80	.36	.63
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	.50	.42	.56
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.30	.54	.56
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.10	.24	.84
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.30	n.a	.28
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	.70	.21	n.a.

TABLE 17:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
OCCURRENCE ODDS MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event occurs,	Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event become...				
			1	2	3	4	5
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	n.a	.20	49.00	.67	.43
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	9.00	n.a	5.25	.43	1.00
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	3.00	.25	n.a	1.00	.33
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	.72	.14	5.25	n.a	.43
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.82	.25	3.35	.43	n.a
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	.43	.11	2.33	.16	.11
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	.43	.11	3.35	.25	.11
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.56	.14	5.25	.32	.14
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.56	.12	3.35	.28	.12
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	.56	.15	5.25	.35	.14
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	.43	.12	5.25	.32	.14
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	.56	.15	5.25	.32	.15
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	.56	.16	3.35	.39	.14
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.56	.15	5.25	.32	.14
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.64	.14	5.25	.32	.14
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	.82	.18	3.00	.39	.16
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	.22	.04	1.70	.04	.02
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.72	.14	3.35	.43	.18
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	.14	.04	.27	.06	.02
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	.72	.14	3.35	.43	.18
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	.03	.01	.08	.02	.01
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.64	.15	10.11	.35	.15

TABLE 17 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
OCCURRENCE ODDS MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event occurs,		Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event become...				
			6	7	8	9	10
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	24.00	.82	24.00	9.00	.92
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	24.00	1.86	24.00	99.00	1.08
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	7.33	1.86	7.33	17.18	4.00
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	7.33	5.67	5.25	17.18	4.00
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	7.33	2.33	7.33	17.18	4.00
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	n.a	1.50	4.00	9.00	.67
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	7.33	n.a	4.00	9.00	.67
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	5.25	1.35	n.a	17.18	.72
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	6.35	1.15	5.25	n.a	.76
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	24.00	1.50	7.33	17.18	n.a
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	7.33	1.22	24.00	17.18	.92
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	11.50	1.50	7.33	9.00	.92
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	7.33	1.22	7.33	17.18	.79
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	11.50	1.08	5.25	17.18	.92
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	24.00	1.50	11.50	9.99	1.50
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	7.33	1.86	24.00	11.20	.92
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	4.00	.60	3.17	6.87	.39
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	1.78	.54	1.78	9.00	.39
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	4.00	.67	.67	2.08	.47
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	4.00	1.00	7.33	99.00	.67
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	.09	.05	.51	2.08	.04
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	24.00	1.50	24.00	14.63	1.27

TABLE 17 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
OCCURRENCE ODDS MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event occurs,	Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event become...				
			11	12	13	14	15
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	.43	9.00	3.00	2.33	1.17
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	.43	3.55	3.00	2.33	2.57
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	.43	2.57	1.86	5.25	1.94
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	1.50	2.57	3.00	2.33	2.57
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.56	2.57	2.33	5.25	3.55
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	.43	2.57	1.50	2.33	2.57
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	.43	1.50	1.00	2.33	1.50
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.49	1.70	1.50	2.33	1.17
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.46	1.94	1.17	2.77	1.84
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	.56	2.57	1.22	5.25	5.25
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	n.a	2.57	1.86	.49	3.55
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	.56	n.a	2.33	5.25	1.94
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	.49	3.55	n.a	2.33	1.94
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.56	3.55	1.86	n.a	3.55
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.64	3.55	1.86	10.11	n.a
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	.49	3.55	1.86	5.25	1.50
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	.18	1.17	.80	1.70	2.57
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.18	.92	.67	.96	5.25
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	.43	.32	.25	2.33	.92
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	.43	5.25	2.33	5.25	.92
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	.03	.06	.05	.08	.08
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.64	2.57	1.50	5.25	5.25

TABLE 17 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
OCCURRENCE ODDS MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event occurs,	Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event become...				
		16	17	18	19	20
1. Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	.82	4.00	1.00	.56	.14
2. Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	1.50	1.27	1.00	.56	.09
3. Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	1.50	1.78	.82	.56	.09
4. Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	1.50	1.27	.82	.56	.09
5. Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	1.50	1.27	.67	.56	.08
6. Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	1.00	4.00	1.00	.43	.11
7. Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.00	4.00	1.00	.43	.11
8. Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	1.50	4.00	1.00	.37	.10
9. Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	1.15	4.00	.82	.37	.10
10. Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	1.00	2.57	1.00	.43	.11
11. Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	1.00	1.78	.82	.32	.09
12. Voting participation is equalized	1.50	1.00	2.57	.82	.37	.10
13. Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	1.00	4.00	.82	.56	.09
14. Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.82	4.00	1.00	.56	.10
15. Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	1.50	2.57	.82	.32	.09
16. Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	n.a	2.57	.82	.32	.09
17. There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	.67	n.a	1.22	.49	.14
18. There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.67	1.78	n.a	.82	.03
19. There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	.25	7.33	2.33	n.a	.09
20. There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	1.86	1.27	3.00	.32	n.a
21. There is a thermonuclear war	.43	.05	.51	3.00	1.17	.10
22. There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	1.50	1.78	.54	.18	.04

TABLE 17 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
OCCURRENCE ODDS MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event occurs,		Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event become...	
			21	22
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	.43	5.25
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	.43	5.25
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	.43	5.25
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	.43	10.11
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.43	10.11
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	.43	2.33
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	.43	3.35
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.37	3.35
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.37	3.35
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	.43	3.35
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	.37	5.25
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	.37	5.25
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	.43	3.35
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.43	3.35
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.32	5.25
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	.37	4.13
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	.56	1.70
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.72	1.27
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	1.17	1.27
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	.32	5.25
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	n.a	.39
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.27	n.a.

TABLE 18:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
OCCURRENCE ODDS RATIO MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event occurs,	Initial probability by 2000	The odds of this event are multiplied...				
			1	2	3	4	5
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	n.a.	1.84	21.00	2.67	3.86
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	21.00	n.a.	2.25	1.71	9.00
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	7.00	2.25	n.a.	4.00	3.00
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	1.69	1.23	2.25	n.a.	3.86
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	1.91	2.25	1.43	1.71	n.a.
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.65	1.00
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.43	1.00	1.00
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	1.31	1.23	2.25	1.26	1.23
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	1.31	1.11	1.43	1.13	1.09
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	1.31	1.34	2.25	1.41	1.23
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	1.00	1.11	2.25	1.26	1.23
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	1.31	1.34	2.25	1.26	1.34
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	1.31	1.47	1.43	1.56	1.23
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	1.31	1.34	2.25	1.26	1.23
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	1.49	1.23	2.25	1.26	1.23
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	1.91	1.59	1.29	1.56	1.47
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	.51	.38	.73	.17	.18
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	1.69	1.23	1.43	1.71	1.59
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	.32	.38	.11	.26	.18
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	1.69	1.23	1.43	1.71	1.59
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	.07	.09	.03	.08	.09
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	1.49	1.34	4.33	1.41	1.34

TABLE 18 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
OCCURRENCE ODDS RATIO MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event occurs,		Initial probability by 2000	The odds of this event are multiplied...				
			6	7	8	9	10
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	6.00	.82	6.00	1.00	1.38
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	6.00	1.86	6.00	11.00	1.63
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	1.83	1.86	1.83	1.91	6.00
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	1.83	5.67	1.31	1.91	6.00
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	1.83	2.33	1.83	1.91	6.00
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	n.a.	1.50	1.00	1.00	1.00
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.83	n.a.	1.00	1.00	1.00
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	1.31	1.35	n.a.	1.91	1.09
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	1.59	1.15	1.31	n.a.	1.14
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	6.00	1.50	1.83	1.91	n.a.
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	1.83	1.22	6.00	1.91	1.38
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	2.88	1.50	1.83	1.00	1.38
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	1.83	1.22	1.83	1.91	1.18
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	2.88	1.08	1.31	1.91	1.38
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	6.00	1.50	2.88	1.11	2.25
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	1.83	1.86	6.00	1.24	1.38
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	1.00	.60	.79	.76	.58
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.44	.54	.44	1.00	.58
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	1.00	.67	.17	.23	.71
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	1.00	1.00	1.83	11.00	1.00
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	.02	.05	.13	.23	.06
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	6.00	1.50	6.00	1.63	1.91

TABLE 18 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
OCCURRENCE ODDS RATIO MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event occurs,	Initial probability by 2000	The odds of this event are multiplied...				
			11	12	13	14	15
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	1.00	6.00	3.00	1.00	.78
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	1.00	2.36	3.00	1.00	1.71
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	1.00	1.71	1.86	2.25	1.29
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	3.50	1.71	3.00	1.00	1.71
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	1.31	1.71	2.33	2.25	2.36
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	1.00	1.71	1.50	1.00	1.71
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	1.15	1.14	1.50	1.00	.78
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	1.07	1.29	1.17	1.19	1.23
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	1.31	1.71	1.22	2.25	3.50
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	n.a.	1.71	1.86	.21	2.36
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	1.31	n.a.	2.33	2.25	1.29
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	1.15	2.36	n.a.	1.00	1.29
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	1.31	2.36	1.86	n.a.	2.36
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	1.49	2.36	1.86	4.33	n.a.
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	1.15	2.36	1.86	2.25	1.00
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	.41	.78	.80	.73	1.71
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.41	.62	.67	.41	3.50
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	1.00	.21	.25	1.00	.62
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	1.00	3.50	2.33	2.25	.62
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	.07	.04	.05	.03	.05
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	1.49	1.71	1.50	2.25	3.50

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CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
OCCURRENCE ODDS RATIO MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event occurs,	Initial probability by 2000	The odds of this event are multiplied...				
			16	17	18	19	20
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	.82	1.00	1.00	1.31	1.23
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	1.50	.32	1.00	1.31	.78
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	1.50	.44	.82	1.31	.78
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	1.50	.32	.82	1.31	.78
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	1.50	.32	.67	1.31	.68
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	1.50	1.00	1.00	.86	.89
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	1.15	1.00	.82	.86	.89
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	1.00	.64	1.00	1.00	1.00
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	1.00	.44	.82	.74	.78
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	1.00	.64	.82	.86	.89
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	1.00	1.00	.82	1.31	.78
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.82	1.00	1.00	1.31	.89
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	1.50	.64	.82	.74	.78
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	n.a.	.64	.82	.74	.78
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	.67	n.a.	1.22	1.15	1.23
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.67	.44	n.a.	1.91	.28
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	.25	1.83	2.33	n.a.	.78
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	1.86	.32	3.00	.74	n.a.
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	.05	.13	3.00	2.74	.89
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	1.50	.44	.54	.41	.38

TABLE 18 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
OCCURRENCE ODDS RATIO MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event occurs,	Initial probability by 2000	The odds of this event are multiplied...	
			21	22
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	1.00	2.25
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	1.00	2.25
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	1.00	2.25
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	1.00	4.33
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	1.00	4.33
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	1.00	1.00
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.00	1.43
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.86	1.43
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.86	1.43
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	1.00	1.43
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	.86	2.25
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	.86	2.25
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	1.00	1.43
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	1.00	1.43
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.74	2.25
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	.86	1.77
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	1.31	.73
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	1.69	.55
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	2.74	.55
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	.74	2.25
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	n.a.	.17
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.62	n.a.

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TABLE 19:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE PROBABILITY MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event does not occur,	Initial probability by 2000	The probability of this event becomes...				
			1	2	3	4	5
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.30	n.a.	.07	.58	.11	.01
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.10	.23	n.a.	.68	.19	.06
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	.70	.00	.00	n.a.	.00	.00
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.20	.27	.10	.67	n.a.	.05
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.10	.28	.09	.69	.19	n.a.
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	.80	.30	.10	.70	.44	.10
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	.50	.30	.10	.63	.20	.10
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	.80	.06	.02	.14	.04	.02
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	.90	.00	.01	.07	.02	.03
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.40	.26	.08	.61	.16	.09
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.30	.30	.10	.64	.18	.09
12.	Voting participation is equalized	.60	.21	.06	.49	.14	.06
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	.50	.24	.06	.63	.12	.08
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	.70	.16	.03	.37	.11	.05
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	.60	.17	.07	.49	.14	.07
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	.50	.15	.05	.65	.12	.06
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	.80	.78	.34	.98	.84	.42
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	.50	.18	.08	.63	.10	.05
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.30	.38	.13	.91	.26	.13
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.10	.29	.10	.69	.19	.09
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.30	.42	.14	.97	.28	.14
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	.70	.09	.03	.21	.06	.03

TABLE 19 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE PROBABILITY MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,	Initial probability by 2000	The probability of this event becomes...				
		6	7	8	9	10
1. Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.30	.73	.52	.73	.90	.37
2. Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.10	.78	.48	.78	.89	.39
3. Black median income is 80% or more of white	.70	.61	.15	.61	.80	.00
4. Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.20	.78	.41	.79	.89	.30
5. Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.10	.79	.48	.79	.90	.36
6. Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	.80	n.a.	.10	.80	.90	.40
7. Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	.50	.72	n.a.	.80	.90	.40
8. Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	.80	.64	.20	n.a.	.72	.32
9. Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	.90	.22	.19	.44	n.a.	.11
10. Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.40	.69	.43	.75	.87	n.a.
11. Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.30	.77	.48	.73	.88	.37
12. Voting participation is equalized	.60	.62	.35	.68	.90	.28
13. Proportion holding elective office is equalized	.50	.72	.45	.72	.86	.36
14. Black values become more communitarian than not	.70	.52	.45	.71	.80	.21
15. Church membership is equalized at 80%	.60	.56	.35	.62	.89	.10
16. Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	.50	.72	.35	.64	.88	.32
17. There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	.80	.80	.99	.96	.99	.88
18. There is a war involving a major mobilization	.50	.96	.65	.96	.90	.52
19. There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.30	.80	.54	.97	.99	.43
20. There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.10	.80	.50	.79	.89	.40
21. There is a thermonuclear war	.30	.99	.69	.99	.99	.55
22. There is a major positive industrial transformation	.70	.43	.27	.43	.82	.03

TABLE 19 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE PROBABILITY MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event does not occur,	Initial probability by 2000	The probability of this event becomes...				
			11	12	13	14	15
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.30	.30	.47	.39	.70	.63
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.10	.30	.58	.47	.70	.59
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	.70	.30	.32	.15	.37	.46
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.20	.23	.57	.44	.70	.57
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.10	.29	.59	.48	.68	.58
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	.80	.30	.12	.10	.70	.12
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	.50	.30	.60	.50	.70	.60
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	.80	.18	.48	.10	.70	.84
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	.90	.17	.06	.14	.39	.17
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.40	.26	.52	.47	.61	.44
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.30	n.a.	.55	.44	.86	.52
12.	Voting participation is equalized	.60	.21	n.a.	.20	.49	.51
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	.50	.27	.42	n.a.	.70	.54
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	.70	.16	.18	.15	n.a.	.18
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	.60	.17	.33	.28	.39	n.a.
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	.50	.27	.42	.35	.56	.60
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	.80	.90	.84	.72	.98	.12
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	.50	.45	.72	.60	.91	.36
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.30	.30	.75	.63	.70	.65
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.10	.30	.57	.48	.68	.61
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.30	.42	.83	.69	.97	.83
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	.70	.09	.32	.27	.37	.04

TABLE 19 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE PROBABILITY MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,		Initial probability by 2000	The probability of this event becomes...				
			16	17	18	19	20
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.30	.52	.80	.50	.27	.09
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.10	.49	.83	.50	.29	.10
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	.70	.27	.99	.62	.16	.15
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.20	.48	.86	.51	.29	.11
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.10	.49	.83	.51	.29	.10
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	.80	.50	.80	.50	.30	.10
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	.50	.50	.80	.50	.30	.10
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	.80	.10	.80	.50	.42	.14
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	.90	.19	.80	.95	.57	.19
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.40	.50	.85	.50	.30	.10
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.30	.50	.87	.52	.33	.11
12.	Voting participation is equalized	.60	.50	.92	.58	.35	.12
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	.50	.50	.80	.55	.24	.12
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	.70	.62	.80	.50	.16	.12
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	.60	.35	.92	.58	.39	.13
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	.50	n.a.	.88	.55	.36	.12
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	.80	.90	n.a.	.30	.18	.02
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	.50	.60	.96	n.a.	.15	.17
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.30	.63	.77	.41	n.a.	.11
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.10	.48	.83	.47	.31	n.a.
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.30	.69	.99	.39	.20	.10
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	.70	.27	.99	.85	.65	.24

TABLE 19 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE PROBABILITY MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,		Initial probability by 2000	The probability of this event becomes...	
			21	22
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.30	.30	.64
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.10	.30	.68
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	.70	.30	.37
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.20	.30	.65
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.10	.30	.68
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	.80	.30	.70
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	.50	.30	.63
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	.80	.42	.42
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	.90	.57	.07
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.40	.30	.65
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.30	.31	.64
12.	Voting participation is equalized	.60	.35	.49
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	.50	.30	.63
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	.70	.30	.54
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	.60	.39	.49
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	.50	.33	.60
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	.80	.06	.98
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	.50	.18	.84
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.30	.20	.76
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.10	.31	.68
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.30	n.a.	.88
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	.70	.51	n.a.

TABLE 20:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE ODDS MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,		Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event become...				
			1	2	3	4	5
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	n.a.	.08	1.38	.13	.01
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	.30	n.a.	2.17	.23	.06
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	.00	.00	n.a.	.00	.00
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	.37	.10	1.99	n.a.	.05
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.40	.10	2.25	.23	n.a.
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	.43	.11	2.33	.79	.11
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	.43	.11	1.70	.25	.11
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.06	.02	.16	.04	.02
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.00	.01	.08	.02	.03
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	.35	.09	1.54	.19	.09
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	.43	.11	1.78	.22	.10
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	.27	.06	.96	.16	.06
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	.32	.06	1.70	.14	.09
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.19	.03	.60	.12	.06
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.20	.08	.96	.16	.08
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	.18	.05	1.86	.14	.06
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	3.55	.52	49.00	5.25	.72
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.22	.09	1.70	.11	.05
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	.61	.14	10.11	.35	.16
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	.40	.11	2.25	.23	.10
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	.71	.16	32.33	.38	.16
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.10	.03	.27	.06	.03

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CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE ODDS MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,	Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event become...				
		6	7	8	9	10
1. Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	2.72	1.09	2.72	9.00	.58
2. Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	3.59	.94	3.59	8.09	.63
3. Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	1.59	.18	1.59	3.88	.00
4. Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	3.55	.70	3.76	7.99	.43
5. Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	3.79	.91	3.79	8.52	.55
6. Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	n.a.	.11	4.00	9.00	.67
7. Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	2.57	n.a.	4.00	9.00	.67
8. Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	1.78	.25	n.a.	2.57	.47
9. Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.29	.23	.79	n.a.	.13
10. Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	2.26	.76	2.95	6.69	n.a.
11. Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	3.27	.92	2.72	7.38	.58
12. Voting participation is equalized	1.50	1.63	.54	2.13	9.00	.39
13. Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	2.57	.82	2.57	5.90	.56
14. Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	1.08	.83	2.41	3.88	.27
15. Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	1.27	.54	1.63	7.81	.11
16. Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	2.57	.54	1.78	7.47	.47
17. There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	4.00	99.00	24.00	99.00	7.33
18. There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	24.00	1.86	24.00	9.00	1.08
19. There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	4.00	1.19	34.00	99.00	.77
20. There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	4.00	1.00	3.79	8.09	.67
21. There is a thermonuclear war	.43	99.00	2.26	99.00	99.00	1.24
22. There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.74	.36	.74	4.43	.03

TABLE 20 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE ODDS MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,		Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event become...				
			11	12	13	14	15
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	.43	.89	.65	2.33	1.67
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	.43	1.38	.89	2.33	1.42
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	.43	.47	.18	.60	.85
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	.29	1.33	.78	2.33	1.33
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.42	1.42	.91	2.17	1.38
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	.43	.14	.11	2.33	.14
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	.43	1.50	1.00	2.33	1.50
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.22	.92	.11	2.33	5.25
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.20	.06	.16	.63	.20
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	.35	1.08	.88	1.54	.79
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	n.a.	1.22	.77	6.07	1.10
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	.27	n.a.	.25	.96	1.04
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	.37	.72	n.a.	2.33	1.17
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.19	.22	.18	n.a.	.22
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.20	.49	.38	.63	n.a.
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	.37	.72	.54	1.27	1.50
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	9.00	5.25	2.57	49.00	.14
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.82	2.57	1.50	10.11	.56
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	.43	3.07	1.69	2.33	1.87
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	.43	1.34	.91	2.17	1.59
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	.71	4.93	2.26	32.33	4.79
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.10	.47	.36	.60	.04

106 **TABLE 20 CONTINUED:**
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE ODDS MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event does not occur,	Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event become...				
			16	17	18	19	20
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	1.09	4.00	1.00	.38	.10
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	.96	4.77	1.00	.42	.11
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	.36	99.00	1.61	.19	.17
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	.90	6.14	1.05	.40	.12
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.96	4.77	1.04	.42	.12
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	1.00	4.00	1.00	.43	.11
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.00	4.00	1.00	.43	.11
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.11	4.00	1.00	.72	.16
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.23	4.00	19.00	1.33	.23
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	1.00	5.82	1.00	.43	.11
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	1.00	6.61	1.09	.48	.12
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	1.00	11.50	1.35	.53	.13
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	1.00	4.00	1.22	.32	.14
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	1.61	4.00	1.00	.19	.14
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.54	11.50	1.35	.64	.15
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	n.a.	7.33	1.22	.56	.14
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	9.00	n.a.	.43	.22	.02
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	1.50	24.00	n.a.	.18	.20
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	1.69	3.27	.71	n.a.	.12
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	.94	4.77	.89	.44	n.a.
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	2.26	99.00	.65	.25	.12
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.36	99.00	5.67	1.86	.32

TABLE 20 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE ODDS MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,		Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event become...	
			21	22
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	.43	1.78
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	.43	2.17
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	.43	.60
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	.43	1.84
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.43	2.09
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	.43	2.33
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	.43	1.70
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.72	.72
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	1.33	.08
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	.43	1.88
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	.46	1.78
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	.53	.96
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	.43	1.70
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.43	1.16
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.64	.96
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	.49	1.47
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	.06	49.00
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.22	5.25
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	.25	3.17
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	.44	2.17
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	n.a.	7.33
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	1.04	n.a.

TABLE 21:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE ODDS RATIO MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,		Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event are multiplied...				
			1	2	3	4	5
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	n.a.	.68	.59	.52	.13
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	.71	n.a.	.93	.93	.53
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	.00	.00	n.a.	.00	.00
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	.86	.94	.85	n.a.	.47
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.92	.88	.96	.93	n.a.
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.14	1.00
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.00	1.00	.73	1.00	1.00
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.15	.18	.07	.17	.18
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.00	.09	.03	.08	.26
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	.82	.78	.66	.76	.85
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	1.00	.95	.76	.90	.91
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	.62	.52	.41	.65	.52
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	.74	.57	.73	.55	.78
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.44	.28	.26	.48	.51
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.46	.68	.41	.65	.68
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	.41	.47	.80	.55	.57
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	8.27	4.64	21.00	21.00	6.52
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.51	.78	.73	.44	.47
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	1.41	1.29	4.33	1.41	1.40
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	.94	.98	.96	.93	.94
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	1.66	1.45	13.86	1.53	1.45
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.23	.28	.11	.26	.28

TABLE 21 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE ODDS RATIO MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,	Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event are multiplied...				
		6	7	8	9	10
1. Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	.68	1.09	.68	1.00	.86
2. Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	.90	.94	.90	.90	.95
3. Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	.40	.18	.40	.43	.00
4. Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	.89	.70	.94	.89	.64
5. Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.95	.91	.95	.95	.83
6. Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	n.a.	.11	1.00	1.00	1.00
7. Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	.64	n.a.	1.00	1.00	1.00
8. Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.44	.25	n.a.	.29	.71
9. Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.07	.23	.20	n.a.	.19
10. Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	.57	.76	.74	.74	n.a.
11. Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	.82	.92	.68	.82	.86
12. Voting participation is equalized	1.50	.41	.54	.53	1.00	.58
13. Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	.64	.82	.64	.66	.84
14. Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.27	.83	.60	.43	.41
15. Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.32	.54	.41	.87	.17
16. Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	.64	.54	.44	.83	.71
17. There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	1.00	99.00	6.00	11.00	11.00
18. There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	6.00	1.86	6.00	1.00	1.63
19. There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	1.00	1.19	8.50	11.00	1.15
20. There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	1.00	1.00	.95	.90	1.00
21. There is a thermonuclear war	.43	24.75	2.26	24.75	11.00	1.87
22. There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.19	.36	.19	.49	.04

TABLE 21 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE ODDS RATIO MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,		Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event are multiplied...				
			11	12	13	14	15
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	1.00	.59	.65	1.00	1.11
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	1.00	.92	.89	1.00	.95
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	1.00	.31	.18	.26	.57
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	.68	.88	.78	1.00	.88
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.97	.95	.91	.93	.92
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	1.00	.09	.11	1.00	.09
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.51	.62	.11	1.00	3.50
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.46	.04	.16	.27	.13
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	.82	.72	.88	.66	.52
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	n.a.	.81	.77	2.60	.73
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	.62	n.a.	.25	.41	.69
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	.86	.48	n.a.	1.00	.78
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	.44	.15	.18	n.a.	.15
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.46	.33	.38	.27	n.a.
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	.86	.48	.54	.55	1.00
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	21.00	3.50	2.57	21.00	.09
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	1.91	1.71	1.50	4.33	.38
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	1.00	2.05	1.69	1.00	1.25
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	1.00	.90	.91	.93	1.06
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	1.66	3.29	2.26	13.86	3.19
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.23	.31	.36	.26	.03

TABLE 21 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE ODDS RATIO MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

If this event does not occur,	Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event are multiplied...				
		16	17	18	19	20
1. Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	1.09	1.00	1.00	.88	.91
2. Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	.96	1.19	1.00	.97	1.02
3. Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	.36	24.75	1.61	.44	1.55
4. Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	.90	1.54	1.05	.93	1.06
5. Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	.96	1.19	1.04	.97	1.04
6. Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
7. Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
8. Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	.11	1.00	1.00	1.69	1.47
9. Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	.23	1.00	19.00	3.09	2.11
10. Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	1.00	1.45	1.00	1.00	1.00
11. Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	1.00	1.65	1.09	1.13	1.10
12. Voting participation is equalized	1.50	1.00	2.88	1.35	1.23	1.17
13. Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.22	.74	1.23
14. Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	1.61	1.00	1.00	.44	1.27
15. Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	.54	2.88	1.35	1.49	1.34
16. Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	n.a.	1.83	1.22	1.31	1.23
17. There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	9.00	n.a.	.43	.51	.18
18. There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	1.50	6.00	n.a.	.41	1.84
19. There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	1.69	.82	.71	n.a.	1.10
20. There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	.94	1.19	.89	1.03	n.a.
21. There is a thermonuclear war	.43	2.26	24.75	.65	.57	1.05
22. There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	.36	24.75	5.67	4.33	2.84

TABLE 21 CONTINUED:
CROSS-IMPACT ANALYSIS 1.0
NONOCCURRENCE ODDS RATIO MATRIX
PRESENT TO 2000

	If this event does not occur,	Initial odds by 2000	The odds of this event are multiplied...	
			21	22
1.	Percent professional or managerial is equalized	.43	1.00	.76
2.	Black business gross is 5% or more of national	.11	1.00	.93
3.	Black median income is 80% or more of white	2.33	1.00	.26
4.	Poverty is equalized at 10% or less	.25	1.00	.79
5.	Black personal net worth is 50% or more of white	.11	1.00	.90
6.	Life expectancy is equalized at 75 or more	4.00	1.00	1.00
7.	Deaths/100,000 from heart disease is equalized	1.00	1.00	.73
8.	Median years of schooling is equalized at 14 or more	4.00	1.69	.31
9.	Illiteracy ages 25-44 equalized at 0.2% or less	9.00	3.09	.03
10.	Proportion of married families is equalized at 88%	.67	1.00	.81
11.	Homicide is equalized at 3.0/100,000 or less	.43	1.06	.76
12.	Voting participation is equalized	1.50	1.23	.41
13.	Proportion holding elective office is equalized	1.00	1.00	.73
14.	Black values become more communitarian than not	2.33	1.00	.50
15.	Church membership is equalized at 80%	1.50	1.49	.41
16.	Racist beliefs and practices are attenuated	1.00	1.15	.63
17.	There is a depression with unemployment at 25% or more	4.00	.15	21.00
18.	There is a war involving a major mobilization	1.00	.51	2.25
19.	There is a right wing revolution in the U.S.	.43	.57	1.36
20.	There is a left wing revolution in the U.S.	.11	1.03	.93
21.	There is a thermonuclear war	.43	n.a.	3.14
22.	There is a major positive industrial transformation	2.33	2.43	n.a.

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